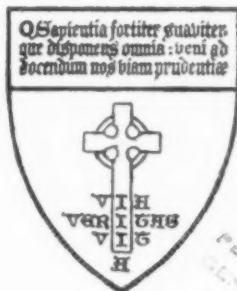


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Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XXX

APRIL, 1948

NUMBER 2

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PUBLISHED BY

ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

600 HAVEN STREET
EVANSTON, ILLINOISPRINCE AND LEMON STS.
LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

\$1.00 A NUMBER

\$3.50 A YEAR

Anglican Theological Review

VOLUME XXX

APRIL, 1948

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The REVIEW is published four times a year, as follows: Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn numbers. Subscription price \$3.50 annually. Single copies, \$1.00.

All editorial communications and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor, the Rev. Frederick C. Grant, 3041 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Treasurer, the Rev. Percy V. Norwood, 600 Haven Street, Evanston, Illinois.

Books for review should be sent to the Book Review Editor, the Rev. Holt H. Graham, 600 Haven Street, Evanston, Illinois.

Entered as second-class matter, August 8, 1931, at the post-office at Evanston, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879; with additional entry at the post-office at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

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VOLUME XXX

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THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION

By SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

The New Covenant commonly called The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Revised Standard Version. Translated from the Greek, being the version set forth A.D. 1611, revised A.D. 1881 and A.D. 1901, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1946. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946, pp. viii + 553. \$2.00.

An Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament. By Members of the Revision Committee, Luther A. Weigle, Chairman. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946, pp. 72. \$0.25.

Against a perspective of only two years, it is hazardous to suggest that the publication of the RSV and that of the KJ are historical events of equal importance.¹ Yet the two versions are alike in being far more important than their first readers immediately realized. Great things were expected of the ERV, and the *Chicago Tribune* received the entire text of the New Testament by cable and printed it in its columns, but neither it nor the ASV captured the allegiance of the reading public. By

comparison the publicity accorded the RSV was very modest, and the publishers, underestimating the demand for it, were caught off their guard. This demand in itself suggests how greatly we need "a version which embodies the best results of modern scholarship as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and expresses this meaning in English diction which is designed for use in public and private worship and preserves those qualities which have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature" (Intro., p. 11). Such a version, worthy in every way to be used and officially fostered by the several Christian churches, might well be to our century what the KJ was to the seventeenth.

Does the RSV meet these requirements? Again, it is almost too early to say. Yet it has had two full years of use and must be well known to most of the readers of these pages. Since experts have already published careful and technical reviews,² what seems to be

¹The following abbreviations will be used: KJ = King James version; ERV = English Revised version; ASV = American Standard version; RV = ERV and ASV together; RSV = Revised Standard version; Intro. = The Introduction whose full title is given above. Quotations are by permission of the International Council of Religious Education, holders of the copyright.

²For example, Kendrick Grobel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXVI [1947], 361-384; Allen Wikgren in H. R. Willoughby, ed., *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow* (Chicago, 1947).

called for now is an assessment of the RSV as a version to read, study, and use in worship, together with a few criticisms to go into the record. One may dare hope that suggestions from many quarters will aid these or future revisers in producing a final draft still nearer to their avowed ideal.

Let us say at once that the sure and masterly scholarship manifested in this work is exactly what would be expected of the distinguished committee, which included two great translators of the New Testament—Dr. Goodspeed and the late Dr. Moffatt—and others whose names are known wherever the Bible is seriously studied. The RSV reflects a far better understanding of the Greek than any other official Protestant version. It translates a text which approximates more closely to the original. It has some of the verve and independence which made the Tyndale and KJ versions great in their day. It follows no party line of any sort and therefore may be used confidently by Christians of all denominations. It is dignified, and easy to read and understand. The volume itself is handsome, convenient to handle, and printed like a modern book. The type face, a Cheltenham condensed, combines compactness, legibility, and beauty, though it is not commonly used for book type at the present time. Children and people with poor eyesight will therefore find the RSV easier to read than any New Testament they have ever attempted. The methods of the revisers are set forth, and very largely justified, in the Intro., which ought to be read by everyone who is at all interested in the Bible, and particularly by every Sunday school teacher. This little pamphlet offers a great deal of useful information, not only about the prob-

lems and methods of translation, but also about the New Testament itself.

One who would test and taste might well begin by reading various parts of the Pauline epistles, for here the excellence of the new version, and the very great need for it, immediately become apparent. Grobel regards Romans as the masterpiece. II Corinthians is surely not very far behind it. Take, for example, chapters 3 to 6. We quote the first six verses of chapter 3:

Are we beginning to commend ourselves again? Or do we need, as some do, letters of recommendation to you, or from you? You yourselves are our letter of recommendation, written on your hearts, to be known and read by all men; and you show that you are a letter from Christ delivered by us, written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts.

Such is the confidence that we have through Christ toward God. Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our sufficiency is from God, who has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant, not in a written code but in the Spirit; for the written code kills, but the Spirit gives life.

The difficult 12th and 14th chapters of I Corinthians are handled gracefully (unfortunately the RSV of chapter 13, though much clearer than in the KJ or RV, is colorless when one compares it with the Moffatt version). I Cor. 4:6-13 and 9:24-27 are other excellent examples. Philemon and Ephesians will for the first time become understandable to many readers. In the latter book, the reader will notice that the long passage 1:3-14 now consists of six sentences rather than one, and he will find that 5:32 and its relation to the context are far more intelligible. He might then pass on to Acts 23:16-24:21; 26:2-23; to Mark 6:17-29 and the Passion Narrative; to the first two chapters of Luke;

then to Luke 18:1-8; 20:19-26; and of course to Matthew 5-7.

I. THE TEXT

The Greek text underlying the RSV is decidedly better than that of the RV, which was an uneasy compromise between the "received text" (translated by the KJ) and the readings of Westcott and Hort. Professor Grant, in the Intro., sets forth the rules which now ought to govern the preparation of a text: (1) The text should be eclectic, and no text-type (such as the Alexandrian) is necessarily to be preferred. (2) Readings must be examined on their own merits, "and preference given to those readings which are demonstrably in the style of the author under consideration." (3) "Readings which explain other variants, but are not contrariwise to be explained by the others, merit our preference" (p. 41). The actual result is a close approximation to the Nestle text, though occasionally the second rule is invoked, as in Mark 1:1, where the words "the Son of God" are retained. Grant gives a list of passages in which Vaticanus, Sinaiticus and Chester Beatty are followed against ASV (p. 42).

Professional teachers of the Bible will regret that the RSV follows the practice of the ASV in the marginal notes, which have the form "Some ancient authorities add. . . ." "Many ancient authorities read . . .," etc. These "ancient authorities" may be Greek mss., versions, or quotations in fathers, and no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of the variants. For example, the longer text of Luke 22:19-20, which has excellent attestation, stands on quite a different footing than Matt. 18:11 or Acts 8:37.

■ A few familiar passages immediately strike the eye. RSV reads *eúdoxias* in Luke 2:14, "and on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased"; John 14:4, "And you know the way where I am going"; Rom. 8:28, "We know that in everything God works for good with those who love him." But the reader will notice particularly the following omissions from the text (some are in the margin; some of course were omitted by RV): "without cause" in Matt. 5:22; "openly" in Matt. 6:6; Matt. 12:47; 23:14; Mark 9:44, 46; 11:26; 15:28; 16:9-20 (relegated to the margin, together with the "shorter ending" which is now printed); Luke 22:19b-20; 23:17; 24:12; John 5:4; 7:53-8:11 (the story of the adulteress, now in the margin); Acts 8:37; "in Ephesus" in Eph. 1:1. These omissions are abundantly justified. On the other hand, the RSV prints in the text Matt. 16: 2b-3; Luke 22:43 f; 23:34 a, though their attestation is very doubtful. Perhaps these are concessions to tradition. Another concession is the use throughout of the name "Beelzebub," though every New Testament student knows that "Beelzebub" is correct. In Matt. 25:1, the reading "and the bride" is in the margin, not the text, and this seems to be sheer *προσωποληψία*—"respect of persons" of the Alexandrian mss., for according to Grant's second and third rules, the marginal reading should be the true one!

But although it is possible here and there to quarrel with the translators' judgment, the text which they used is on the whole the best which is now available. Before Grant's principles can be followed more perfectly, and a really eclectic text prepared, there must be a thorough reassessment both of the text-

types and families and the individual readings.³

II. THE REVISERS' TREATMENT OF THE GREEK

How well have the translators handled the Greek text at which they arrived? We have only to point to Cadbury's essay in the Intro., which is an admirable thumb-nail sketch of the *koine*, and to remark that in nearly all cases the results are admirable. To take a few phrases at random: Matt. 10:4, "who betrayed him," the "superfluous *καί*" (as Cadbury calls it) is eliminated; 14:23, "into the hills" (*εἰς τὸ ὄρος*, not "the mountain"); 23:23, "dill"; Mark 7:3, *πυγμῇ* or *πικνὰ* wisely omitted as unintelligible; 14:49, "but let the scriptures be fulfilled" (*ἵνα* with subjunctive taken as imperative); Luke 17:20, "the kingdom of God is in the midst of you"; John 1:9, "the true light . . . was coming into the world"; 1:11, "to his own home, and his own people received him not"; 6:69, "we have believed, and have come to know" (*πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν*); 11:48, "our holy place and our nation"; 14:1, "Believe in God, believe also in me" (two imperatives); 14:2, "would I have told you that I go to prepare a place for you?"; 14:30, "He has no power over me"; Phm. 9, "I, Paul, an ambassador"; Jas. 2:3, "Have a seat here, please" (*καλῶς*).

The RV was marked by a pedantic over-translation of the Greek tenses, nearly always rendering the aorist by the English past and the perfect by the English perfect. The RSV has erred, if at all, on the other side. It is clear

that the Attic rules did not by any means hold in New Testament times. But one wonders if genuine nuances are not sometimes lost. In Matt. 3:5 = Mark 1:4 the imperfect *ἐξεπορεύετο* is translated "went out," although the picture is that of crowds continually streaming out, and although the conative imperfect is carefully rendered in Matt. 3:14. The net which was cast in Matt. 4:18 was an *ἀμφίβληστρον* while that of 13:47 was a *σαγήνη*; but of course the distinction would have been difficult to express. *συνέδριον* is always "council" (e.g. in 5:22), but in the same verse "hell of fire" is an attempt at precision. The verb *ἀπέχω* in Matt. 6:2 is translated "they have their reward," though it means "their reward has been paid in full," and Cadbury (Intro., p. 48) points out that it is precisely rendered in Phil. 4:18. The Greek of Mark 2:4 means more than "and when they had made an opening"; it is rather "and when they had dug [through the mud thatch]." Since the revisers frequently suggest alternative translations, why did they not insert a marginal note at John 3:3 to the effect that *ἄνωθεν* also means "from above"? "For the form (*σχῆμα*) of this world is passing away" (I Cor. 7:31) is not very clear. "Form" is used to translate both *μορφή* in Phil. 2:7 and *σχῆμα* in 2:8, although *μορφή* ought to mean "nature" here; yet in 2:17 great care is used to bring out the figure of speech: "poured out as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith."

There are other places where the translation might be challenged. Dr. Goodspeed, with his usual logic and vigor, insists in the Intro. (pp. 33 f) that *δοῦλος* means nothing more nor less than "slave," as of course it does. But he must have been overruled by the timid-

³ See, e.g., E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method—Its Achievements and its Limitations," in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXVI [1947], 109-133.

ity of some of his colleagues, for the colorless and misleading word "servant" is used nearly everywhere. This spoils the point of St. Paul's great phrase "slave of Jesus Christ," which has its roots deep in the Old Testament and in Semitic religion generally. So also in John 15:15 the point is, "No longer do I call you slaves . . . but I have called you friends." Likewise in Luke 12:35-48 the term "servant" is always used, although the institution of slavery is the whole point of the story (cf. also Matt. 13:28; John 13:16; 15:20). The choice of this word is particularly bad in Acts 4:29, for "servant" is also used to translate *παῖς* in 4:25, 27, 30. On the other hand, the word "slave" is used in Mark 10:44; Luke 7:2; I Cor. 7:21-23; Col. 3:22; 4:1; Rev. 18:23. Craig speaks (Intro., pp. 19 f) of distinctions introduced by the KJ which have no place in the original Greek, but the RSV also contains some of these!"

Even more misleading is the use of the word "master." Except in England and in some circles of the eastern U. S., "master" always means "employer," "owner," or "overlord," and never "teacher." RSV also uses it to mean the owner of a slave in Matt. 25:21, 23 (though "enter into the joy of your master" might better be translated "share the joy"); but the word is also used to render *ραββί* (Matt. 26:25, 49; Mark 9:5; 10:51, 11:21, 14:45); *διδά-*

σκαλε (Mark 4:38); *καθηγητής* (Matt. 23:10); and *κύριος* (Luke 12:36, 45; in 12:41 f it is translated "Lord"). Yet *διδάσκαλε*, which means almost the same thing as *ραββί* and *καθηγητής*, is properly translated as "Teacher" in Mark 10:35; Luke 10:25; 11:45; 12:13; 19:39; 20:21, 28, 39; 22:11 (= Mark 14:14; Matt. 26:18); John 11:28; 13:13 f.

Acts 20:28 is one of the places where the same officers are called "elders" (or presbyters) and "bishops," yet here the RSV obscures the problem by translating *ἐπισκόπους* as "guardians," while in Tit. 1:5, 7 the words "elders" and "bishop" are retained. A marginal note would have been in order.

"Precept" is a misleading translation in Matt. 19:11, for in traditional moral theology a precept is a law binding on all men, while this saying is a "counsel" addressed to those who are able to receive it. "Bandit" would be a better translation of *ληστής* than "robber" in Matt. 21:13; 26:55; 27:38; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46, etc. In Josephus *ληστής* is almost a technical term for those semi-political thugs, who, like Pancho Villa or the Irgun Zvai Leumi, looted in the name of national freedom. "Lawyer" (Luke 10:25; 11:45) could have been improved upon. Most translators, including those of the RSV, seem to have overlooked the fact that the *ὄρνις* of Matt. 23:37 = Luke 13:34 might be any mother-bird and not necessarily a "hen." ("Hen" means mother-bird generally in English idiom, but not in American.) In Matt. 27:49 *ἴδμεν* probably means only "Let us see," and not "Wait, let us see." The reviewers use the ambiguous "You have said so" for *σὺ εἶπας* (Matt. 26:64) and *σὺ λέγεις* (27:11), but the former passage runs parallel to Mark 14:62, where Jesus unambigu-

*In Matt. 2:1, *μάγοι* is translated "wise men" but in Acts 13:6 *μάγος* is "magician," with a marginal note. The words "coat" and "cloak" translate *χιτὼν* and *ἱμάτιον* in Matt. 10:10; Mark 6:9; Luke 9:3; while Acts 12:8 has "mantle" for the latter. Matt. 5:13 reads "If salt has lost its taste, how can its saltiness be restored?" but Luke 14:34 has "how shall its saltiness . . .?" though the Greek uses future passives in both instances.

ously says, "I am." Perhaps the RSV is justifiably cautious in saying that the Spirit descended "upon" Jesus (Mark 1:10), but the Greek says "into him."

The RSV contains one curious hang-over. It drops the Latin word "Calvary" for *κρανίον* in Luke 23:33 (cf. Craig in Intro., p. 18), but preserves "Olivet" in Luke 21:37; Acts 1:12, perhaps because here the noun is *ἐλαιών* (gen. *ἐλαιῶνος*), not *ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν*, as in Mark 11:1; Luke 22:39. But this is a distinction not worth perpetuating, and "Olivet" is neither a Greek nor an English formation, but only a vestige of the Latin.

Every good translation, it has been well said, is a commentary. One cannot translate without interpreting, and the makers of the RSV have faced up to their responsibility. In the marginal note to Matt. 11:12 they take note of a relatively new theory: the Kingdom "has been coming violently." The "gates of Hades" in Matt. 16:18 becomes "powers of death." St. Paul's quotation of Hab. 2:4 is boldly translated, in accordance with the general drift of the Apostle's thought, "He who through faith is righteous shall live." Other examples: "Or do you begrudge my generosity?" (Matt. 20:15); "Is it Christ Jesus . . .?" (Rom. 8:34); "interpreting spiritual truths to those who possess the Spirit" (I Cor. 2:13; other possibilities in margin); *παραδοῦναι* as an imperative (5:5); "a woman ought to have a veil (*ἐξουσίαν*) on her head" (11:10); "Now an intermediary implies more than one; but God is one" (Gal. 3:20, a famous *cruz*); "elemental spirits of the universe" (Gal. 4:3; Col. 2:8, 20); "rigor of devotion" (*ἐθελοθηρησκεία*, Col. 2:23); the pun explained in Phm. 11; "For that person must not suppose that a double-

minded man, unstable in all his ways, will receive anything from the Lord" (Jas. 1:7 f); "an appeal to God for a clear conscience" (I Pet. 3:21, another *cruz*).

Understanding of the text is greatly helped by the judicious use of quotation marks, as in I Cor. 6:12 f; 8:1, 4. This too involves interpretation. See, e.g., John 3:27-30, which are taken as John the Baptist's speech, while the following verses are the sermonic comment of the evangelist.

III. THE STANDARD OF ENGLISH

What kind of English version is the result? Is the RSV a revision or a new translation? Is it a "modern speech" version? Answers are difficult to give. The RSV certainly departs more radically from RV and KJ than those versions did from their predecessors. One notices immediately that "ye," "thou," and the archaic verb forms and plurals have been abandoned.⁵ But it is more than this: the whole standard of vocabulary is different. This might be called a modern translation—with exceptions. My impression is that the revisers have been more conservative in the gospels, especially that of Matthew, than elsewhere. The Lord's Prayer is largely in the traditional language, with one great improvement—"as we also have forgiven our debtors" (Matt. 6:12). Eph. 3:14-21 is similar in wording to the older versions, while other parts of the book are very different. Phil. 1:3-11 appears to be a revision and 1:12-18 a fresh translation, while 1:21 again echoes the old. Many traces of the modern private versions are to be seen; for ex-

⁵ See Craig in ch. ii and Weigle in ch. vii of the Intro. for examples of the changes and the reasons for them.

ample, there are echoes of Moffatt's eloquent pentameters in Rev. 18:7 f, but we wish his "hurled down, hurtling," could have been preserved in 18:21.

Much has been done to remove obsolete, ambiguous and clumsy phraseology. Here are some examples: "was the father of" instead of "begat" (Matt. 1:2, etc.); "Whoever then relaxes" (5:19); "the log that is in your own eye" (7:3; better than the "beam" retained even by Goodspeed); "the way is hard" (7:14); "He who receives a prophet because he is a prophet" (10:41); "weeds" for "tares" (13:25);⁴ "blood money" (27:6); "not even to a single charge" (27:14); "that impostor" (27:63); "If in this life we who are in Christ have only hope" (I Cor. 15:19).

The results, indeed, are frequently happy and sometimes brilliant. "Harassed and helpless" for the rhyming *ἐκλυμένοι καὶ ἐρημμένοι* (Matt. 9:36) is almost as good as anything in the KJ. Other examples: "bread of the Presence" for "shewbread" (Matt. 12:4); "scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven" (13:52); "he will put those wretches to a miserable death" (21:41); "there men will weep and gnash their teeth" (22:13-25:30; excellent, for it brings out the force of *ἐκεί*, usually lost when KJ or RV is read aloud); "how are you to escape being sentenced to hell?" (23:33); "Where did this man get all this?" (Mark 6:2); "He meant to pass by them . . . they thought it was a ghost" (6:48 f); "You have a fine way of rejecting the commandment of God" (7:9); "I see men; but they look like trees, walking" (8:24); "He looked intently and was restored" (8:25); "kingly

power" (Luke 19:12); "while the sun's light failed" (23:45); "it is not by measure that he gives the Spirit" (John 3:34); "stripped for work" (21:7); "the definite plan and foreknowledge of God" (Acts 2:23); "and he stared at him in terror" (10:4); "Assassins" (*συκάρτοι*, 21:38); "a tempestuous wind, called the north-easter" (27:14); "to set the mind on the flesh is death, but to set the mind on the Spirit is life and peace" (Rom. 8:6); "Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God" (12:19); "the unspiritual (*ψυχικός*) man" (I Cor. 2:14); "Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up" (8:1); "we regard no man from a human point of view" (*οὐδὲνα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα*, II Cor. 5:16); "superlative apostles" (11:5); "but I press on to make it my own, because Christ Jesus has made me his own" (Phil. 3:12; cf. also 4:12); "Unfaithful creatures!" (Jas. 4:4); "Come to him, to that living stone . . . and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house" (I Pet. 2:4 f). The double meaning of *διαθήκη* is dealt with by rendering it as "covenant" in Heb. 9:15, 18, and as "will" in 9:16 f. Many of the above are examples of "modern speech translation" in the best sense of the word.

Against these excellences must be set many instances in which obsolete, ambiguous, or difficult wording is retained. Was it really necessary to use "Lo" (e.g. Matt. 2:9; 3:17; 10:16; 17:5; 19:27) and "Behold" (e.g. Matt. 2:13; 11:8, 10; 12:42, 46; 20:18; Luke 2:10; John 19:4)? In other places the RSV is not bound to these; e.g., "Look, Lord" (Luke 22:38); "Look" (Matt. 12:2 = Mark 2:24; John 12:19); "Here is the man" (John 19:5). In Matt. 5:13 (as in 6:30) we no longer have "cast out," but "trodden under foot" is re-

⁴One does, however, feel that "pearl of great value" is weaker than "pearl of great price" (Matt. 13:45).

tained. "Think not" remains in Matt. 5:17, though "I am come" is modernized to "I have come." Acts 13:43 reads "converts to Judaism," but "proselyte" is kept in Matt. 23:15, although many readers of the RSV will not know a proselyte from an acolyte. It would have been better to translate the term. Other examples: "Judge not, that you be not judged" (Matt. 7:1), but "Do not lay up for yourselves" (6:19); "upbraid" (11:20); "whole" (12:13; never used for "well" in modern speech); "I have compassion on the crowd" (Matt. 15:32 = Mark 8:2); "steward" (Matt. 20:8; Luke 16:1-8; why not "manager"?); "the scriptures of the prophets" (Matt. 26:56); "raiment" (28:3; but contrast 6:25 and Weigle, Intro., p. 54!); "his countenance fell" (Mark 10:22); "Be not afraid" (Luke 2:10); "knew him not . . . received him not" (John 1:10 f); "wrought" (3:21; Rom. 7:8); "besought" (John 4:31); "whither" (8:14); "Hark" (Acts 5:9); "it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" (Acts 15:25, 28; i.e. "the Holy Spirit and we have decided"); "brethren" (Rom. 8:29, etc.).

In a few other places the English seems unidiomatic or flat, though of course this is a matter of taste in which all may not agree. "Give glory to" (Matt. 5:16) sounds like Basic English; surely "glorify" would do as well. "Do not heap up empty phrases" (6:7); why not "string together"? "Or what man of you . . . ?" (7:9) might have been rendered "Now what man of you. . . ?". "Sit at table with" is used to avoid rendering *κατακείμεναι* literally as "recline [at table]," but "eat with" might be a better substitute. RSV exhibits a degree of uncertainty about the use of the auxiliaries "shall" and "will." In

Matt. 7:2 it reads "you will be judged" (i.e. the simple, not the prophetic or legal future), but in 7:21 "Not everyone . . . shall enter" and 11:22 "it shall be more tolerable . . . for Tyre and Sidon than for you." "Shall" is also used throughout the Beatitudes. "Ears of grain" (Matt. 12:1 = Mark 2:23) is tolerable, but "heads of grain" is the American idiom. "Lump of dough" in I Cor. 5:6 is idiomatic (though "batch" might be better), but why should "leaven" be used and not "yeast"? In I Cor. 6:18 *φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν* is translated "Shun immorality." We must really protest against the modern use of the word in this absolute sense, as though the only immorality were sexual. "If the Lord wills" (Jas. 4:15) is awkward. If the revisers wished to avoid the subjunctive "will" they might have said "If the Lord is willing."

Semitic idioms are always difficult to handle in translating the Bible. Though they gave the KJ much of its peculiar flavor, they have nearly always been obscure to the people in the pews and are even more so today, when few laymen read commentaries or hear exegetical lectures. Burrows discusses the problem in the Intro. (p. 29), remarking that the RSV is not completely consistent. In some instances we are inclined to disagree with the revisers' judgment. "Debts" and "debtors" in the Lord's Prayer is always an unfortunate literalism, not defensible if other Jewish idioms are paraphrased. "Mammon" (Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:9, 11, 13) is nothing but the Aramaic for "wealth" or "property." If it were translated the gospel would regain its cutting edge. And why not translate it, since *μαρὰν θεῶν* is rendered as "Our Lord, come!" in I Cor. 16:22 and *κυρίου σαβαώθ* as "Lord

of hosts" in Jas. 5:4? "Hosanna" (Matt. 21:9, 15), which means "Save [us] now," calls for an explanation in the margin. The expression "walk" meaning "behave" is given its English equivalent in Mark 7:5, "Why do your disciples not live . . .?" but in Rom. 14:15 we read "walking in love." "Slow of heart" in Luke 24:25 might better be "slow of mind," but for the most part one can only applaud the revisers' handling of words like *καρδία*, *κοιλία*, and *σπλάγχνα*. "Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water" (John 7:38) is much better, and so is Phm. 7, "the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through you."

The RSV does not attempt consistency in the handling of coins, weights, measures and distances. Stadia are usually translated into miles (e.g. Luke 24:13; John 6:19; 11:18) but the distances are given in stadia in Rev. 14:20; 21:16. "Cubit" is retained in Matt. 6:27 = Luke 12:25, but "two hundred cubits" becomes "about a hundred yards off" in John 21:8. "Penny" is usually employed for very small coins (Matt. 5:26; 10:29; Mark 12:42; Luke 12:6), but in Luke 12:59 it is "the very last copper (*λεπτόν*)." "Denarius" is left untranslated except in Mark 12:15 and parallels, where it is "a coin." The values of the denarius and talent are explained in marginal notes (Matt. 18:24, 28). The *διδράχμα* of Matt. 17:24 and *στατήρ* of Matt. 17:27 become "half-shekel tax" and "shekel" respectively, and quite properly, since these are only Greek equivalents for Jewish coinage; *δράχμα* in Luke 15:8 is "a silver coin." Despite Goodspeed's suggestion (Intro., p. 34), the RSV of Matt. 27:45 f has "sixth hour" and "ninth hour" without a marginal note, but the margin of Acts 19:9

reads, "Some ancient authorities add, *from eleven o'clock to four*." In the reckoning of time, if anywhere, a consistent modernization would be helpful.

The Greek gods are now given their correct names, such as Zeus, Hermes (Acts 14:12), and Artemis (Acts 19:24, etc.), and Acts 28:11 reads: "with the Twin Brothers as figurehead." Note also "proconsuls" (Acts 19:38), "tribune of the cohort" (21:31), and "emperor" (I Pet. 2:13, 17).

We have spoken of the slight unevenness in English diction and style, the combination of archaism and modernity, the persistence of tradition in Matthew and the freedom with which the epistles are handled, the presence of pedestrian phrases alongside occasional flashes of brilliance. Perhaps this is partly due to the rule that two-thirds of the entire membership of the committee had to agree to every change (Intro., p. 10). But the KJ was produced by a committee! The difficulty may also lie in a failure to understand, or at least to agree upon, what constitutes dignified and vigorous modern English style. It is all too easy to confuse the archaism or Semitism of the KJ with its power. We shall never again speak the language of Shakespeare and the Prayer Book, but we have our own fair speech, and to stand too fast by these older models would be to repeat the error of the first and second century Atticists. The master of prose in the New Testament was not the author to the Hebrews, despite his elegance, nor even St. Luke, but the Apostle Paul. There is unevenness in these passionate, unrevised letters of his, but he took the speech which was current coin in his day and hammered it into the sword of the Spirit. Twentieth

century English has, if anything, a richer idiom than first century Greek, and no one who reads the *Atlantic Monthly* or T. E. Lawrence can deny that it is an entirely worthy vehicle for translating the Bible. Weigle correctly says of the KJ, "A comparison of its text with preceding versions will show that it owes something to each of them. It kept felicitous turns of phrase and apt expressions from whatever source" (Intro., p. 9). The RSV has, to a large degree, done the same. It exhibits a fine feeling for the rhythm which marked the KJ, and its excellence can be appreciated only if it is read aloud in worship over a period of months or years. But still more could have been done by constant attention to predecessors such as the new Roman Catholic versions, and Goodspeed, Moffatt, and Weymouth, which sparkle with lovely and completely modern phraseology. Perhaps Professors Moffatt and Goodspeed were too modest about their own work. If one more draft can be expected from this busy committee, at the time when the new Bible

is published as a whole, let us hope that some attention will be paid to style.

Even to suggest these criticisms is, however, to distort the picture. For the review, if it is to be honest, must end, as it begins, with praise. The RSV is so much better than the ERV and ASV that it cannot be compared with them, but only with the KJ. The new official version of American Protestantism has returned to the great tradition. Let us hope that those who love the Bible will spare no effort to put it into the hands of the people that it may be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested. However the several churches may differ from one another, whatever tension may exist within the churches, however difficult it may be to proclaim, live, and apply the gospel in the modern world, the answer to our perplexities is to be found in a continual return to the Bible for enlightenment, refreshment, and power. And now we have a New Testament that Tyndale's "boy who follows the plow," and the man who tends the machine, can really get hold of.

THE EARLY ANTIOCHENE ANAPHORA

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The origins of the eucharistic prayer of the ancient eastern liturgy are presumably to be found within Judaism, in the table blessings set forth in the Mishnah.¹ Such thanksgivings are mentioned in the account of the Last Supper (Mark 14:23 f) and in the story of the feeding of the five thousand (Mark 6:41, 8:6 f) which is given a eucharistic reference in the Fourth Gospel (John 6:11), as well as in the eucharistic epiphany at the end of Luke (Luke 24:30). It seems probable that they are alluded to in Paul's description of Christian worship in I Corinthians 14:16 f (cf. 10:16, 11:24), where the offering of a eucharistic prayer is regarded as a spiritual gift.

The eucharistic prayer continues to be made extempore, though like other extempore prayers acquiring a relatively fixed form, well into the second century. The Didache, whatever its date may be, provides models based on Jewish forms² but requires that the "prophets" be allowed to "give thanks" as they desire (Did. 10:7). Similarly Justin states

that the "president" says a lengthy thanksgiving (Apol. i. 65:3) "to the best of his ability" (i. 67:5).³ And Hippolytus (Apostolic Tradition x. 3-5, p. 39 f, Easton, 19 Dix) repeats the injunction of Justin, with a recommendation of the fixed form.⁴ If we were to seek for a catch-phrase to describe the situation, we should probably choose "unity without uniformity."⁵

But what was the form or "shape" of the eucharistic prayer? It first emerges into clear light in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho, where it consists of two main elements (Dial. 41, p. 138 Otto): thanksgiving for creation and for redemption. In Hippolytus the two are given a more direct reference to Christ and are further subdivided, so that there are four elements (Apost. Trad. iv. 4-13, p. 35 f, Easton, 7-9 Dix): the action of the divine Logos in creation, incarnation, passion and Last Supper. It has sometimes been suggested that the early eucharistic prayer was addressed to Christ before the time of Hippolytus, but second-century writers prove that this was not ordinarily the case. Clement of Rome

¹ Berakoth, vi. 1-3 (p. 6, Danby), vii. 3 (p. 8). In general see F. Cabrol, "Eucharistie 2," *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de liturgie*, 5 (Paris, 1922), 686-92; H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1926); A. D. Nock, "Liturgical Notes," *JTS*, 30 (1929), 381-95; W. H. Frere, *The Anaphora* (London, 1938); G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1946). F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I (Oxford, 1896), remains the basic collection.

² G. Klein, *ZNW*, 9 (1908), 132-46; R. D. Middleton, *JTS*, 36 (1935), 259-67; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 235 f.

³ J. Beran, *Divus Thomas* (Piac.), 39 (1936), 46-55, urges that this means a power given him by ordination, but D. B., *Rech. théol. anc. et méd.*, 11 (1939), 418* (through which I cite Beran), observes that he raises but does not answer a problem. Is there a reflection of the N. T. concept of *dynamis* as the power of God?

⁴ Written 197: C. C. Richardson, *ATR*, 30 (1948), 38-44.

⁵ Contrast the latter rigidity: Leontius c. Nest. et Eutyeh., iii. 19, quoted by Brightman, *JTS*, 31 (1930), 160.

(Ad Corinthios 52:2-61:3) is probably too individualistic to be representative, but his prayer is addressed to the Father. The Martyrdom of Polycarp (who died in 156) seems to reflect liturgical usage in the dying prayer of the bishop of Smyrna (Mart. 14); if it is like the eucharistic prayer of the church of Smyrna, it must be like that of Polycarp himself.⁶ It is addressed to the Father as a blessing for creation, for the "family of the righteous," and for the Father's child Jesus Christ, the giver of knowledge (cf. Didache).

Eucharistic echoes are also to be found in the homily on the passion by Melito of Sardis. They are present in sections 67-71, 82-85, and 104 of Bonner's edition. Bonner himself pointed out the resemblance of most of these to the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions,⁷ but preferred to call them "hymnodic" in character. In the light of further parallels they should be classified as liturgical. It is Melito's peculiar modalistic theology which leads him to ascribe to Christ what the Apostolic Constitutions regard as the work of the Father. Did he vary consciously from the liturgy he had encountered in Palestine or elsewhere in Syria? We know that he visited Palestine (Eusebius, H. E. iv. 26. 14) and that he may have delivered his homily there.⁸

Another clear echo is heard in Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolyceum i. 6-7.⁹ This section of his earliest apolo-

getic work (probably well before 180) has many similarities to the eucharistic prayer of Apostolic Constitutions viii, and is presumably a paraphrase of his accustomed thanksgiving. The detailed points or resemblance are shown at top of page 93.

What was the content of the eucharistic preface between Theophilus and the Apostolic Constitutions? We have echoes from it in the catechetical lectures given by Cyril at Jerusalem in the year 348. "We commemorate heaven and earth and sea, sun and moon, stars, the whole creation rational and irrational, visible and invisible" (xxiii. 6; Liturgies Eastern and Western 465:14). Similarly Chrysostom says in his 24th homily on I Corinthians (LEW 474:4), "When I say the thanksgiving I fully disclose (πάντα ἀναπύσσω) the treasure of the beneficence of God and I commemorate those great gifts" (cf. LEW 479:22). Both references seem to reflect something like the matter common to Theophilus and Apostolic Constitutions.

The eucharistic preface of Apostolic Constitutions is itself based on Jewish models, as Kohler¹⁰ and Bousset¹¹ have observed. In fact, with slight alterations it can be printed as a Jewish prayer.¹² The slightness of such differences is shown today by the fact that a Jewish prayer in Greek on papyrus was thought by its editors to be Christian.¹³ Similar problems must

⁶ J. A. Robinson, *JTS*, 21 (1920), 97-105; 24 (1923), 141-44.

⁷ C. Bonner, "The Homily on the Passion" by Melito Bishop of Sardis (*Studies and Documents*, XII, London, 1940), 23-27.

⁸ G. Zuntz, *HTR*, 36 (1943), 314. Compare *Acta Ioannis*, 85 (p. 193, Lipsius-Bonnet).

⁹ My article in *HTR*, 40 (1947), 231 f.

¹⁰ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 593 f.

¹¹ Nachrichten . . . Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1915, 435-85.

¹² E. R. Goodenough, *By Light Light* (New Haven, 1935), 306-58.

¹³ H. I. Bell-T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other early Christian*

Theophilus I6

(Otto's pages)

- a) ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν καὶ
μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν τὴν
εὐτακτον πορείαν 18:12
- b) σπερμάτων τε καὶ φυτῶν
καὶ κερπῶν τὴν διάφορον
καλλονήν 18:13
- c) τὴν τε πολυποίκιλον γονὴν
κτηνῶν 18:14
- d) τὴν τε πρόνοιαν 18:18
- e) ἡ τὴν ὑποταγὴν 18:19
- f) πηγῶν τε γλυκερῶν καὶ
ποταμῶν ἀενάων ῥύσιν 18:20
- g) τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρον
χορείαν 20:5
- h) ἐξάγων τὸ φῶς τὸ γλυκὺ
καὶ τὸ ποθεινὸν καὶ ἐπι-
τερπὲς ἐκ θησαυρῶν 20:11
- i) νεφέλας . . . εἰς ὑέτον 20:12

17

- j) συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος
τῆς θαλάσσης 22:2

Apostolic Constitutions

(LEW pages)

- ἐνιαυτῶν κύκλοις, μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν
ἀριθμοῖς 16:14
- βοτάναις εὐδόμοις καὶ ἱασίμοις
16:11 cf. 15:32
- ζώοις πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις 16:11
- δι' αὐτοῦ τῆς προσηκούσης προνοίας 15:8
- καθυποτάξας αὐτῷ τὴν κτίσιν 17:8
- πηγαῖς ἀενάοις μεθύσας 16:9
- τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἀστέρων 15:21
- ἐξαγαγὼν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν 15:18
- νεφῶν ὀμβροτόκων διαδρομαῖς 16:15

- μέγα κύτος αὐτῇ περιθείς 16:2

Notes

¹ A line of poetry; cf. Hesiod, Op. 737; Orac. Sib. fr. 3:6 (p. 230, Geffcken = Theoph., ii.36) ἀένναα χύματα πηγῶν; cf. iv.15 (p. 92).

² Cf. Ignatius, Eph. 19:2. Does Theophilus' τέλειον φωστῆρα (p. 20:4) come from the same source? It is ultimately based on Job 38:7 (B. H. Jones). Cf. LEW 50:18.

³ Jer. 10:13 (51:16) with Homer, Od., xvi.23, xvii.41; cf. Orac. Sib. fr. 1:30 (p. 229, Geffcken), 3:34 f (p. 231).

⁴ Ps. 64:8.

have troubled Antiochene Christians, as the vehemence of Chrysostom's homilies against the Jews demonstrates.¹⁴ Moreover, we know that Theophilus and Paul of Samosata were strongly influenced by Judaism, while Lucian and Dorotheus studied with Jewish teachers.¹⁵ Liturgical influence may be seen

in the celebration at Antioch of the feast of the Maccabean martyrs.¹⁶ It is a popular influence, on the whole; Chrysostom attacks those who fast for the passover (Hom. ii-iv, PG 48, 858 ff) and wears out his voice in his preaching (Hom. vi. 1, 903). He knows that it is claimed that "many" fast (Hom. viii.

Papyri (London, 1935), 56-60; J. Wahrhaftig, JTS, 40 (1939), 376-81.

¹⁴ C. H. Kraeling, JBL, 51 (1932), 156 f.

¹⁵ HTR, 40 (1947), 234-45; G. Bardy, Paul de Samosate (Bruges, 1923), 33; H. St. J.

Thackeray, Josephus the Man and the Historian (New York, 1929), 85; Eusebius, HE, vii. 32. 2.

¹⁶ M. Maas Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judentums, 44 (1900), 145-56.

4, 933). There is thus at various periods strong Jewish influence on liturgical practice at Antioch.

But is the relatively constant shape of the preface concerning the wonders of creation due to recurrent borrowings from Judaism? We might suspect that the sketch of Old Testament history in Apostolic Constitutions viii. 12 is directly based on Jewish models. But it should be noted that the history is complete, from a Christian point of view, when the Jesus of the Old Testament breaks down the wall of Jericho.¹⁷ Here is a genuine climax, based on the typological interpretation of the Old Testament¹⁸ (Duchesne¹⁹ wrongly considered the prayer incomplete); then comes the Sanctus, and we continue with the work of Jesus the Christ, "our Lord and God" (LEW 18-19). This preface, like Antiochene Christianity generally, stands as a mediator between

Hellenistic Judaism and normative Catholicism. But in the final analysis it is genuinely Christian.

While it is difficult to believe with Probst²⁰ and Drews²¹ that there is an "apostolic" or "Clementine" liturgy which goes back to the first century, it seems clear from the parallels which we have adduced that as far as the preface to the eucharistic prayer is concerned, it has acquired a relatively fixed form at Antioch and perhaps at Rome soon after the middle of the second century. This form is probably expanded in the Apostolic Constitutions, but it was there to be expanded.²²

²⁰ *Liturgie der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen, 1870), 39 ff.

²¹ *Untersuchungen über die sogenannten clementinische Liturgie*, I (Tübingen, 1906).

²² And it was not what we have in the liturgy of Addai and Mari; cf. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 177, who calls an association of Antioch with "Addai" "no more than a reasonable conjecture." It is not even that. Another conjecture, reasonable or otherwise, might be that the length of Marcus' preface (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, i. 13. 2, 116) was due to his Syrian origin. On a possible Antiochene, late second-century locus for the Didache, cf. W. Telfer, *JTS*, 40 (1939), 133-46, 258-71.

¹⁷ Cf. Justin, *Dial.*, 113 (pp. 400-404, Otto). Jesus is also the great priest of Zechariah 3 (*Dial.*, 115, p. 410).

¹⁸ See my *The Bible in the Church* (New York, 1948), 49-52.

¹⁹ *Christian Worship* (ed. 2, London, 1904), 61, n. 1.

PRINCIPLES OF FAITH AND ORDER:

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

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Anglican churches are under embarrassments whenever they attempt to explain their Faith and Order to strangers, or even to their own members. They are not "confessional" churches and possess no authoritative systematic formularies. We have the Book of Common Prayer, yes. But a worship manual, even with a thousand rubrics, is a far cry from a system of doctrine. We have, again, our Thirty-nine Articles. But these are of ambiguous authority in Anglicanism, and are, at best, of pigmy size when compared with the Westminster Confession, or the Augsburg Confession, or the decretal encyclopaedia of the Council of Trent.

Yet this apparent poverty of systematic formularies in Anglicanism may turn out to be, under God's providence, a great blessing. It gives Anglicanism a unique opportunity of being the uniting agency for a broken Christendom. The model for an ecumenical church must surely be the church of the New Testament and of the early centuries, when Christian faith and church order were forged in the missionary march across the Roman Empire and in the fires of persecution. That early church had no authoritative doctrinal formularies either—not even embryonic Articles of Religion. It did not even possess a canon of Scripture, except the Old Testament. It did, however possess

a common faith in Christ as risen and exalted Lord, a common memory of a drama of a cross and a resurrection (soon to be enshrined in a common New Testament), a common sacramental cult, and a common church order under an apostolic ministry. This was enough. This sufficed to keep united a Christian church threatened by a schism more basic than any which has since appeared on the scene of Christian history. The New Testament writings point to the union of Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians as the most amazing of divine miracles—equal in witness to God's power with the drama of salvation itself. This uniting of Jew and Gentile was "the mystery of Christ, which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit" (Eph. 3:4, 5).

It may look like an anticlimax to turn from the Epistle to the Ephesians, with its hymns on the unity of the body of Christ, to a contemporary document on church unity like the Lambeth Quadrilateral. Yet the Quadrilateral has filial relations with the New Testament. Here again we meet not a systematic summary of doctrine but a sparse, factual description of the minimal marks of the early catholic church. The New Testament, as canonical addition to the Old, is now upon the scene, along

with the primitive creeds—both long accepted crystallizations of the Faith of the church which was still fluid in the first century. But the other marks of the early church are unchanged—the dominical sacraments and the primitive church order. And this Quadrilateral invites disunited Christendom to ecumenical reunion on the basis of a return to such minimal foundations.

But embarrassments surround this invitation to a banquet of reunion, embarrassments similar to those which Anglicanism has faced throughout its history. We Anglicans have grown accustomed to a bond of union in the form of liturgical action and uniform church structure without defining their meaning in a doctrinal system or confession. Episcopacy, for example, receives no apologetic even in the Thirty-nine Articles. Episcopal church order is sketched in our Preface to the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, but the description is historical and is doctrinally quite ambiguous. For us this is enough, except as parties within Anglicanism embroider such factual and historical acceptance of the unifying marks of the Church with dogmatic interpretations. Is not "the life more than meat, and the body more than raiment"? But other church bodies within Christendom, particularly since the Reformation, have not remained within the orbit of primitive pragmatism, or undefined historical tradition. New church orders have appeared upon the scene, differentiated from ours on dogmatic grounds. We do not possess full-grown doctrinal formularies which we can set over against theirs. We have only a liturgical tradition and a church structure tracing their authority to historical

rather than dogmatic sanctions. We are woefully handicapped.

Or are we? The analogy of the early church ought to give us courage. Undoubtedly, ecumenical debate demands of Anglicanism clarification of its "principles of faith and order." We need to explain our historical pragmatism. But such expositions may commit the very blunders which Anglicanism has hitherto avoided, if they assume the form of a dogmatic system. Recent attempts at dogmatic defense of episcopacy are, I fear, running into this danger. To claim for episcopal church order historical sanctions and to argue that non-episcopal church orders need to "contract back" into this historical continuity is one thing. To argue, however, that the covenant of grace between Christ and His church is forfeited by a break in the form of a historical succession, or that a ministry not technically within the historical succession is ontologically different from one remaining within the historical stream, is quite another thing. Even the monumental dogmatic argument of the recent volume, *The Apostolic Ministry*, will hardly convince those not already convinced, though the historical scholarship incidentally explored in the course of the doctrinal exposition can be freely welcomed. The church of Christ is an historical fact. Episcopacy can make definite, and perhaps irrefutable, claims to a functional role in the history of the church unmatched by any other church order. If continuity is inseparable from the unity of a people of God (and this is an assumption underlying Anglicanism's whole history), and if some form of continuity is essential for an ecumenical church, then epis-

episcopacy can rightly plead for universal acceptance. The Reformation has groped for a unifying structure (Ge-stalt) for hundreds of years. Here is a structure ready to hand. Insofar as episcopacy signifies a structure of continuity and unity, it has doctrinal implications. But these doctrinal implications are not a novelty to non-episcopal churches. When did any Reformed church ever deny the continuity and the unity of the people of God? It is the *form* and not the abstract doctrine which is primarily in question. The problem of form is one for which history must furnish the answer. Anglicanism has every right to plead the cause of the historic episcopate even on doctrinal grounds. Episcopacy may be, indeed, the only church order which fully guards doctrinal truth. But to assert that other church orders have entirely lost the New Testament doctrine of the church is presumption. Such presumption Anglicanism has, in the past, scrupulously avoided.

Nevertheless, the Quadrilateral does need interpretation. Its articles are laconic and had best remain so. But in ecumenical debate enlargement is called for. Keeping in mind the fact that Anglicanism presents the minimal marks of the Church as facts rather than parts of a dogmatic system, exposition and apologetic are entirely proper.

The article on the episcopate of the Lambeth Quadrilateral (1888) reads as follows:

"The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church."

Expositions of the meaning of episcopacy can be formulated on the basis

of one or more of three of its characteristics: (1) its root and meaning in history; (2) its doctrinal significance; and (3) its practical and functional value. The first of these, although in details a battleground for historians, is not the center of debate in the contemporary ecumenical scene. The episcopate has been "historic" for a long time. The third characteristic is also increasingly appreciated by nonepiscopal churches. The second characteristic—the meaning of the episcopate in a doctrine of the Church—presents the chief difficulties. It appears proper to discuss the meaning of the episcopate under the three headings enumerated above, giving most attention to the second.

I

THE EPISCOPATE IN HISTORY

The meaning of the phrase "Historic Episcopate" and its bearing upon the problem of church unity has probably not found as yet a clearer expression than in the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1930. Signed by William Temple, then Archbishop of York, as Chairman, this Report was designed as a further explication of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

"When we speak of the Historic Episcopate, we mean the Episcopate as it emerged in the clear light of history from the time when definite evidence begins to be available. It is indeed, well known that the origin of episcopacy has been much debated. Without entering into the discussion of theories which divide scholars, we may affirm shortly that we see no reason to doubt the statement made in the Preface to our Ordinal that 'from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons.' Whatever variety of system may have existed in addition in the earlier age, it is universally

agreed that by the end of the second century episcopacy had no effective rival. Among all the controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries the Episcopal ministry was never a subject of dispute. We may therefore reasonably claim that it is 'historic' in a sense in which no other now can ever be. The Episcopate occupies a position which is, in point of historic development, analogous to that of the Canon of Scripture and of the Creeds. In the first days there was no Canon of New Testament Scripture, for the books afterwards included in it were still being written. For a time different Churches had different writings which they regarded as authoritative. The Canon was slowly formed, and the acceptance of a single Canon throughout the Church took several generations. So, too, the Apostles' Creed is the result of a process of growth which we can in large measure trace. If the Episcopate, as we find it established universally by the end of the second century, was the result of a like process of adaptation and growth in the organism of the Church, that would be no evidence that it lacked divine authority, but rather that the life of the Spirit within the Church had found it to be the most appropriate organ for the functions which it discharged.

"In the course of time the Episcopate was greatly affected by secular forces which bent it to many purposes alien to its true character, and went far to obscure its spiritual purpose. It is hard to recognize the successors of the Apostles in the feudal Prelates of the mediaeval Church, or in the 'peers spiritual' of eighteenth century England. Moreover, the essential character of the Episcopate was distorted by the development of the Papal Supremacy. Such deviations from its true principle are mainly responsible for the general abandonment of Episcopacy by the Protestant Churches. The Historic Episcopate as we understand it goes behind the perversions of history to the original conception of the Apostolic Ministry."

To prove that an institution "is 'historic' in a sense which no other now can be" does not as yet prove it to be essential in the life of a church—even of a united church. Nor does it prove that ministries not possessing the Historic Episcopate are not ministries in the

Church of God. Anglican formularies are, as a matter of fact, reticent to the point of silence in voicing negative judgments on other ministries. They are equally reticent, so it must be confessed, in positive expressions of recognition. The argument from history, therefore, cannot be doctrinally decisive. But if the ideal of the church's ministry requires that it be, in the words of the "Appeal to All Christian People" (Lambeth, 1920) a ministry "acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing the authority of the whole body," historical continuity must carry great weight. The church exists in time as well as space. A form of the ministry accepted as norm throughout the first fifteen centuries of Christian history, accepted today by what is still the preponderant majority of Christians, should clearly receive consideration in visions for a united church. It is conceivable, of course, that the ideal of a reformed as well as a united church might seize upon episcopacy as a designated evil. But neither the Reformers of the sixteenth century, nor the ecumenical declarations of conscience of our day have voiced a negative judgment upon episcopacy as such. Anglicans, accordingly, feel justified in pleading the cause of episcopacy upon historic grounds.

II

ITS DOCTRINAL SIGNIFICANCE

Does the appeal in behalf of the episcopate on the grounds of its anchorage in history carry with it doctrinal implications? Anglican pleas for its adoption by the churches participating in the ecumenical conferences of our generation have at times argued that

acceptance of the episcopate need not be accompanied by an acceptance of any particular interpretation of it. The South India Scheme expressly so states, and this formula of doctrinal liberty has the approval of the Report on the Unity of the Church of the Lambeth Conference of 1930. Yet this refusal to ask acceptance of any interpretative definition of the episcopate may not be wholly ingenuous. Demanding acceptance of a dogmatic formula may be one thing. Yet the episcopate, accepted in fact, inevitably involves doctrinal implications. These had best be frankly exposed. The Lambeth Report of 1930 itself warns against the view that accepting episcopacy is merely a matter of neutral church polity. The Report reads in part as follows:

"When we [the Bishops singing the Report] say that we must insist on the Historic Episcopate but not upon any theory or interpretation of it, we are not to be understood as insisting on the office apart from the functions. What we uphold is the Episcopate, maintained in successive generations by continuity of succession and consecration, as it has been throughout the history of the Church from the earliest times, and discharging those functions which from the earliest times it has discharged."

To this might well be added the following quotation from the same Report:

"In laying this emphasis on our own inheritance, we emphatically declare that we do not call in question the spiritual reality of the ministries now exercised in non-episcopal communions. On the contrary, we re-iterate the declaration of the Lambeth Conference of 1920, that 'these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace.' But when we consider the problem which must be paramount in all our discussions, namely, the restoration of the broken unity of Christ's Body and the drawing together of the separated groups of His followers, we realize that one necessary element in that visible fellowship must be a

ministry universally acknowledged. Thus considered, there is at present no ministry which fully corresponds with the purpose of God. Yet we are persuaded that the historic continuity of the episcopal ministry provides evidence of the Divine intention in this respect such as to constitute a stewardship which we are bound to discharge."

The episcopate here clearly voices a high claim for itself—the claim that its succession symbolizes the continuity and unity of the church. Can this claim find validation, not merely in certain centuries of the church's history, or in finding acceptance in large portions of Christendom today, but in the very nature of the church as this is revealed in the New Testament and in Christian experience? To shun this question is to avoid facing the heart of the problem involved in the Christian doctrine of the ministry.

The church on the Day of Pentecost is pictured to us as a group of believers having within it the Apostolate, which traced its authority back to Christ Himself. From that day to this no communion of Christians has ever developed a group life without a ministry. The New Testament and Christian history both testify to the fact that the ministry is an essential element in the Church. A distinction between clergy and laity is there from the outset. The relationship between clergy and laity has frequently been expressed by the phrase: The ministry is Christ's gift to the Church. Furthermore, if the Apostolate as we see it in the New Testament can be at all normative, the ministry in the church of Christ has been endowed with duties and powers which are not merely representative of the duties and powers of the laity, but are representative of Christ Himself. The

ministry speaks not only in the church but to the church. Christ is the Head of His church. He is its "Shepherd and Bishop." Its structure, therefore, must be such as to provide for His exercise of a Shepherd's care and oversight. This charge is laid upon the ministry as in a succession from Christ through the Apostolate.

Such a view of the ministry when divorced from a corporate doctrine of the church and its corporate empowering by the Holy Spirit runs obvious dangers. It may result in the ministry claiming a monopoly of the powers of the Spirit, or in pride of a ministerial caste. Against these abuses evangelical Christianity enters protest. Yet the Reformers did not repudiate a doctrine of the ministry as representative of Christ to the church, though not all Reformation confessions discuss the subject as fully as one might wish. Evangelical church custom can also be called as witness. A high view of the ministry, however, is clearly possible on evangelical as well as catholic grounds. In the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566, for example, the Confession "most widely adopted and hence the most authoritative of all the Continental Reformed symbols, with the exception of the Heidelberg Catechism,"¹ declares:

"God has always used His ministers for the gathering or erecting of a Church to Himself, and for the governing and preservation of the same. . . . Therefore ministers are to be considered not as ministers by themselves alone, but as the ministries of God. . . . For Christ chose unto Himself disciples, whom He made apostles; and they, going out into the whole world, gathered together churches in all places by the preaching of the gospel. And afterward they ordained pastors and teachers in all

churches, by the commandment of Christ; who, by such as succeeded them, has taught and governed the Church unto this day. Therefore, as God gave unto His ancient people the patriarchs, together with Moses and the prophets, so also to His people under the new covenant He sent His only-begotten Son, and, with Him, the apostles and teachers of His Church.

"For we see that a master does give unto the steward of his house authority and power over his house, and for this cause delivers him the keys, that he may admit or exclude such as his master will have admitted or excluded. According to this power does the minister, by his office, that which the Lord has commanded him to do; and the Lord does ratify and confirm that which he does, and will have the deeds of his ministers acknowledged and esteemed. Unto which end are those speeches in the Gospel: 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou bindest or loosest in earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven' (Matt. 16:19). Again, 'Whose sins soever ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whose sins soever ye retain, they shall be retained' (John 20:23). But if the minister deal not in all things as the Lord commanded him, but pass the limits and bounds of faith, then the Lord does make void that which he does. Wherefore the ecclesiastical power of the ministers of the Church is that function whereby they do indeed govern the Church of God, but yet so do all things in the Church as He has prescribed in His Word: which thing being so done, the faithful do esteem them as done of the Lord Himself."²

The above passages, torn from their context, do not, obviously, present the whole Reformation view. Whole areas of difference remain between the Reformed doctrine of the ministry and that of the mediaeval church, especially as concerns the sacraments. But clearly here is a doctrine of the ministry which preserves for it, however interpreted in detail, the essential powers once left by Christ to the Apostolate. The ministry is in apostolic succession. Has the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, in-

¹ Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. I, page 394.

² *Ib.*, Vol. III, pages 875, 877, 879.

deed, defined in terms of *function*, ever been repudiated in classical Protestantism?

There remains, however, the question how the ministry receives its Christ-given commission and how its functional succession from the Apostolate is to be symbolized. Who ordains to this apostolic ministry? Christian doctrine, both Catholic and Protestant, could reply: "Christ ordains through the Holy Spirit." But how? On this issue episcopal and non-episcopal church orders do diverge.

If we turn again to our typical Reformation Confession—on this point unquestionably typical of Reformation confessions generally—we read:

"No man ought to usurp the honor of the ecclesiastical ministry . . . but let the ministry of the Church be called and chosen by a lawful and ecclesiastical election and vocation. . . . And those that are chosen let them be ordained by the elders with public prayer, and laying on of hands. We do here, therefore, condemn all those who run of their own accord, being neither chosen, sent, nor ordained."³

The phrases "rightly called" and "duly chosen" are the classic Reformation formulae. They are echoed in the "Preface to the Ordinal" subscribed to by all churches of the Anglican Communion: The Offices of the church "were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have qualities as are requisite for the same." And these rights of choosing and calling were rights which the Reformation recovered for the corporate fellowship of believers. They had been fully exercised in the church's early centuries, but had become obscured or

even lost in the era of mediaeval clericalism. Anglicanism may have been guilty in practice of obscuring this anchorage of the ministry in the corporate Body also. In theory, however, Anglicanism would today subscribe heartily to this Reformation recovery. "We cannot," so runs a typical Anglican pronouncement, which probably expresses an almost universal Anglican conviction:

"We cannot accept a conception of ordination which is exclusively hierarchical, as though ministerial succession alone constituted the essence of the Church apart from any continuing body of the faithful, or, on the other hand, a conception which would make the ministry representative only of the congregation, or of the whole body of the laity, or again, a conception which represents it as having its justification only in administrative convenience. The ministry is to be regarded as having its entire existence and significance within the life of the Body as a whole. The fact that the ministry does not derive its commission from a Church which initially had no ministry, but derives it, within the Church, from Christ Himself, the Head of the Church, His Body, does not involve the consequence that it can perform its function apart from the Body."⁴

A truly Anglican view of the ministry should acknowledge a great debt to the Reformation recovery of the doctrine of the ministry as a ministry *in* the church as well as *to* the church. Anglicanism may well need corrections to express this full, truly catholic doctrine.

Anglicanism, however, would plead that, by having retained the episcopate, there has been preserved within its church order another essential of truly catholic doctrine and practice. "Rightly called" and "duly chosen" are, indeed,

⁴ *Doctrine in the Church of England: The Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922.* Macmillan, 1938, page 121.

³ *Ib.*, Vol. III, page 878.

essentials of a true ministry in the church. A hierarchy "over the head" of the church, claiming monopoly of the powers of the Holy Spirit, is not the ministry we meet in the New Testament, nor in the normative life of the early church. But succession by way of an ordaining act by ministers who themselves have received a commission—a succession tracing back to the apostles—was normative also. Continuity of the ministry in the church is as deeply rooted in its life as are the ministry's apostolic functions. Ministerial succession, though not the only pledge of unity and continuity of the church's life, has been, and is today, the most clearly preserved symbol of the fact that the church is a people of God continuous in history.

Evangelical practice comes to the support of doctrine here—or may even serve as a substitute for doctrine. There have appeared, undoubtedly, in communions arising since the Reformation, ministries outside of regularized successions. The essence of ministerial ordering, so declares the Savoy Declaration of the Congregational Churches (1658), "consists in the election of the Church. . . . And those who are so chosen, though not set apart by imposition of hands, are rightly constituted ministers of Jesus Christ, in whose name and authority they exercise the ministry to them so committed."⁵ But such congregational individualism has, in practice, not proved normal—not even in Congregationalism. "Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands . . . by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong"—so reads the Westminster Confession. Such,

surely, though with variations in the particular ministerial order empowered to ordain, is almost universal practice in Christendom today, as it has been from New Testament times onward. The Christian church, divided though it be, does not present us, on the one side, with a church order guarding a succession, and, on the other side, with church orders lacking ministerial successions. We have, instead a congeries of successions—episcopal successions, presbyterial successions, older successions, younger successions. Some of these recognize each other. Others do not. Some give to the fact of succession dogmatic interpretation. Others do not. But within a normal Christian communion the ordaining act is by ministers who themselves have been ordained in a succession. A commission is handed on. This act has safeguarded the continuity and the unity of each of the many communions of the divided Christian flock.

The Lambeth "Appeal" of 1920 asks for a ministry "possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body." Each of the separated ministerial successions of the Christian church would lay claim to the "commission of Christ." Christ, through the Holy Spirit, so they may declare, is Lord in His church. The Holy Spirit ordains, and hence can found new ministerial successions. "By their fruits ye shall know them." If a clerical order fulfills the functions of an apostolic ministry, it *has* the commission of Christ. Regularity in succession is doctrinally secondary, if not indifferent.

Who can deny the force of this plea! Anglican formularies have, as already

⁵ Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. III, page 725.

stated, been eloquently silent in judging non-episcopal ministries. Regularity of succession has been for Anglicanism a rule of discipline. Anglicans differ among themselves as to the extent to which succession (Apostolic Succession) is a matter of doctrine. Few Anglicans could be found who would not heartily subscribe to a recognition of many other ministerial successions as "manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace."⁶

Can ministerial succession, however, be doctrinally wholly neutral? Another test must surely be applied to our many ministerial successions in addition to functional effectiveness. This is the demand for "a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing . . . the authority of the whole body."

Clearly, the recognition of a ministry as merely functionally "effective" runs dangers of subjective judgment. Who shall be judge? Recognition needs a sacramental form—the form of ordination. Within a ministerial succession, recognition is a sacramental act—a commissioning into the succession. Recognition has then received an "outward and visible" sign. Ministerial successions, each separate and autonomous, can at best recognize one another only by courtesy. Recognition of one another's ministries has become general among evangelical communions. Has this practice, however, received sufficient doctrinal examination? Can mutual recognition of ministries, each in a separate succession, be equated in value with recognition by way of ordination *within* a single church order? Can any group of Christians at will become autonomous and assume the right of creating a

ministry for the universal church? Does not the rebirth of an ecumenical Christianity inevitably involve recovery by the universal Church of its right to order its ministry and to restore recognition within a single succession?

Episcopal Church Order can make the claim that for over a thousand years of Church history it was the "outward and visible" form of ministerial recognition for the universal church. Even schisms within that church did not destroy recognition of separated ministries. The continuity and unity of the Body received symbols. The episcopate gave a sacramental character to the *structure* of the Church.

If the structural continuity and unity of the church have doctrinal significance, then the episcopate has doctrinal meaning. Succession has doctrinal implications. No fraction of the Body of Christ can presume upon the rights of the universal church. The episcopate, as the historic organ of unity and continuity, cannot, by itself, when divorced from the Body, presume upon those rights either. The very idea of the church's catholicity demands a ministry "acknowledged by every part of the Church." Church and apostolic ministry are in principle inseparable.

Two variant doctrines of recognition as between the separated ministerial successions have been in conflict with each other in post-Reformation centuries. The one sees in the Holy Spirit, since He is alive in the church of every age, the Author of the church's ministry, Creator, if need be, of new ministerial successions. It asserts the rights of the Body as against any tyrannical caste. The other sees in succession itself a channel of grace through which the Holy Spirit in the church commissions

⁶ Lambeth "Appeal" of 1920.

the followers of the apostles; and it sees in that ministry the carriers of powers bequeathed by Christ Himself. Neither of the two doctrinal views is, however, wholly inconsistent with the other. In practice, if not in doctrinal pronouncement, the former acknowledges the indispensability of ministerial successions; and the latter acknowledges ministries other than its own to be "manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace." The Spirit still "bloweth where it listeth." The formula of ordination universally employed in the Christian church rests essentially upon the phrase: "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum"—"Receive the Holy Spirit."

In a visioned re-united church there will be those who will in conscience be unable to accept a definition of episcopacy which declares it to be the *esse* of the church. These may, however, come to accept episcopacy as expressive of that which is of the *esse* of the church—namely, its continuity and its unity, and its sacramental structure, inseparable from an apostolic ministry as a gift from Christ Himself. In a re-united church, again, there will be those who will, in conscience, be unable to recognize as fully ministers of Christ any ministry which is not in the original historic succession. These may, however, welcome joyously the manifestations of God's unlimited grace as He has blessed His flocks "not of this fold." We may find unity in the New Testament doctrine of the church of Christ—One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic.

The Lambeth Quadrilateral

Does the Lambeth Quadrilateral ask for the acceptance of a doctrinal definition of episcopacy? The answer is:

No, not in a technical formula. But episcopacy is not a bare fact. It is an institution fulfilling certain functions. Among these, as of its essence, are succession in office and the succession of consecration. It is what it is; the historic commissioning, ordaining organ of the church. Acceptance of the episcopate would carry with it inevitable doctrinal implications. These implications have rarely been more clearly expressed than in two pronouncements made respectively by two Archbishops of Canterbury. Both were representative of ecumenical charity and of devotion to the cause of church unity. They were father and son—Frederick Temple and William Temple. Frederick Temple's confession of faith in Episcopacy reads as follows:

"Christ sent forth His Apostles; the Apostles received their commission from Him; they were not organs of the congregation; they were ministers of the Lord Himself. . . . It is for this that we insist upon the succession of the Ministry, because we find the Church from the very beginning flowing out of the Ministry. . . . The purpose of that succession is to link the Church of the present generation back, by steps that cannot be mistaken, to the first appointment of the Apostles by our Lord. The purpose of that succession is to make men feel the unity of the body as it comes down the stream of history, and if possible to touch their hearts with some sense of that power which the Lord bequeathed when He ascended up on high and gave gifts to men."

William Temple expresses his conviction in comparable terms:

"When I consecrate a godly and well-learned man to the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, I do not act as a representative of the Church, if by that is meant the whole number of contemporary Christians; but I do

¹ Frederick Temple, *Twelve Sermons Preached in Truro Cathedral during Consecration Week*, 1887, pages 17, 21.

act as the ministerial instrument of Christ in His Body, the Church. The authority by which I act is His, transmitted to me through His Apostles and those to whom they committed it; I hold it neither from the Church nor apart from the Church, but from Christ in the Church. . . . In this continuity we have an effective symbol of that eternity in the midst of time which is the miracle of the Incarnation and the familiar marvel of the Christian Church. Here is something too precious to let go—that chain of the laying-on of hands by which, as Bishop Gore used to say, 'the generations are bound together in one.' In all our aspirations toward Christian unity, this must be held fast. . . . It is possible to hold such a faith without the sacramental expression of it in the Apostolic Ministry; but those who by God's election have received that ministry will neither surrender it nor so hold as to make difficult the access of others to it. We hold it as a treasure and a trust." *

III

ITS PRACTICAL AND FUNCTIONAL VALUE

Whatever may be the final verdict of scholarship on the tangled story of the ministry in New Testament times, it seems clear that this development crystallized early into a ministry of at least three orders—one an essential ministry, carrier of the mission handed down from the founding apostolate, the others deriving their powers from the essential ministry. Nomenclature (apostles, bishops, elders, pastors) may, indeed, have for a time remained fluid. An order, however, arose, henceforward named the episcopate, upon which devolved the vocation of transmitting the ministerial succession. This became the center of unity and the organ of continuity for the wide-spread yet united church. In

the long history of episcopal church order, with its bewildering changes in polity and outward structures, this original vocation remained intact and was scrupulously guarded. The episcopate was, in St. Cyprian's phrase, the "glue" of the church. Its functions, however, were not exhausted by its fulfillment of its function as carrier of the ministerial succession, though there have been times when (as in the early Irish church) little beside this was retained.

As the essential ministry in the church, the episcopate naturally came to exercise the vocation of oversight. The very name of bishop (*episcopos*) implies such pastoral care. Descriptive phrases, characterizing oversight, have been traditionally applied to the bishop. He is "Chief Shepherd." He is "Father in God." By reason of the fact that he is chief minister of a diocese (in earliest times, at least of a city), he is the "great minister" of the "great church." He is, for this larger flock, its *persona ecclesiae*, its personalized representative of the more universal Church. Hence the bishop represents the church catholic to his flock, as the localized presbyter cannot do, nor an assembly of ministers such as a presbytery. No assemblage or committee can be a "Father in God." And as he personifies the universal church to his diocese or larger parish, so he represents his diocese in and to the Councils of the church. Ecumenical conciliar government easily adjusts itself to episcopal church order.

These are, indeed, not an exhaustive list of the functions natural to the episcopate. Its practical advantages have long commended themselves even to non-episcopal communions. In most of these a ministry of oversight has found a

* William Temple, *The Church Looks Forward*, Macmillan, 1944, pages 25-6. Also *The Church Times*, December 17, 1943, page 655.

home. One may see superintendents, moderators, general secretaries, or even "general ministers," in most church bodies today. Nor should the value of such approximations to the episcopate be minimized. Their emergence indicates the need for a personalized symbol of unity in the church. There exist, accordingly, many similarities between episcopal church order and the ministries of oversight in non-episcopal communions. The functional parallelism may well commend the episcopal form. Similarity, however, should not obscure a decisive difference. Episcopal church order gives to the "great minister" a sacramental character. The historic episcopate is not an emergence, for purposes of administrative oversight, out of the essential ministerial order. The episcopate is itself the essential order, and the localized ministry is derivative.

CONCLUSION

The argument for the practical value of the episcopate must, therefore, remain of subordinate significance. The essential nature of the episcopate consists in its powers as organ of continuity and unity in the church. This value may come to be seen as so great that the difficulties in the way of its acceptance in the ecumenical church may yield to solution. May episcopal church order, in the meanwhile, repent of its past sins; may it be purified by submitting to the judgments of its Lord; and may it recover its true apostolic mission. Those who treasure it can join in the words of William Temple, prophet of Church unity in our time: "It is our duty both to safeguard it and to commend it, both to preserve it for ourselves and our children, and to make easy the way of entering into participation in it, provided that in making

our treasure available we do not dissipate or squander it."⁹

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SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why have Anglican formularies no doctrinal definitions of Episcopacy?
2. To what difficulties has this reticence in the area of doctrine led in Anglicanism? What may be its advantages?
3. How does the view of the ministry expressed in the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 (cited in this essay) differ from the Anglican view?
4. Is the Apostolic Ministry defined by its function in the Church, or by its title-deeds in a succession? In other words, is a ministry possible in the Church if it fulfills apostolic functions, even though it may be irregular as regards clear links with the historic episcopal succession? The final position of Anglicanism in the ecumenical movement may depend upon the answer made to this question.
5. What difference is implied in the contrast between "a ministry *in* the Church" and "a ministry *to* the Church"?
6. Contrast the place given to the Holy Spirit in the divergent views of the ministry in Catholic and Evangelical traditions.
7. Is there an ontological difference between a Protestant and a Catholic ministry, or only one of regularity or of divergent emphasis of function?
8. What is the doctrinal significance of the fact that all major non-episcopal communions maintain ministerial successions?

⁹ Temple, William, *The Church Looks Forward*, Macmillan, 1944, page 26.

THE JEWISH BACKGROUND TO THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

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Within the limited compass of this paper we will emphasize a few of the distinctive contributions which the Jewish people made to the Christian Church. Of these contributions which we have in mind one stands out as a particular—indeed, as the fundamental—legacy which Christianity received from Judaism: to wit, that consciousness of a Community bound indissolubly together by its common worship and set apart for the continuance of that worship. This consciousness Israel possessed to a much larger degree than did any of her contemporaries, and this consciousness passed over into Christianity and became a basic conception of the early Christian Community, contributing its own vitality and cohesive force to the "doctrine" of the Church. This paper is neither an investigation of the Hebrew covenant, the Temple, and the later Jewish synagogue nor an outline of a few points in the biblical history of the Jewish people. But it does deal with those institutions and with that history in its attempt to delineate and to emphasize that unique concept of "God's Community" which we feel is important for a proper understanding and appreciation of the doctrine of the Church—Jewish and Christian.

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH HISTORY

The genius of the Jewish people lies, to a great extent, in its common worship, the consciousness of which transcended all other bonds of unity. In

Israel the tie of a common election and a common worship was primary over all other bonds. In such matters the Israelites must be considered from the Semitic point of view, not from our modern ethnological view. For the North-Western Semite the common bond was the community of worship; and this principle of selection, for him, had been operative from primitive times. Moabites were not reckoned as such because of their racial or geographic affinities, but because they worshipped Chemosh; and the Israelites were those who worshipped Yahweh. "The link between Semites was solely that of a common worship. At times this might acquire a racial sense, for intermarriage with non-Jews, involving almost necessarily an abandonment of Judaism in the home and among the offspring, was prohibited. This prohibition, however, arose from a fear that religion would be affected, not from a sense of superiority of blood."¹

The tremendous importance of Israel's common worship of her one God, Yahweh, has not been overlooked by any careful scholar, though some have shown a deeper appreciation and more sympathetic understanding of it than others. On the first page of his *Post-Exilic Judaism*, Dr. Welch stresses that dominant role as a cohesive force which her religion has played in Israel's history.

¹ Herbert Loewe, "Judaism," Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII, p. 584.

The force which had bound the clans into a federation after their escape from Egypt had been their religion; the God to Whom under the influence of Moses they gave their allegiance at Horeb was the God of the federation. The sense of unity derived from the religious bond enabled them to assimilate the clans which had not been in Egypt, and so had not directly received the new spirit of the Mosaic reform.²

Also Albrecht Alt, in the opening paragraphs of his most rewarding monograph on the patriarchal God,³ makes this point even clearer when he states categorically that the genesis of the people of Israel rests historically upon the union of its tribes in the worship of Yahweh, and that this "all-comprehensive consciousness of community" gave to the people its spiritual foundations also. We know of no overlapping political organization and of no cultural force at work to such an extent that it could have produced the unity effected by this common religion. Professor Alt states that in later times this union of all the tribes in the common worship of Yahweh "proved itself as the strongest force for the maintenance of Israel's identity and for the restoration of her spiritual equilibrium after unforeseen disturbances."⁴ It was this union upon which all else is founded. Alt then asks, in line with his particular theme, if we are able to grasp the historical meaning of this union; and we here ask if the religious and theological meanings of this union have been fully appreciated. This common worship which kept the tribes together when no

other force could have operated so effectively, which gave the people their sense of destiny, and which withstood the dangers of the Exile was not obliterated by the legalism of post-Exilic Judaism nor by the sacrificial cultus of the Second Temple, but was still that "upon which all else is founded," even the Christian Church, in large measure.

The lessons of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries taught that only in its pure devotion to Yahweh as God and King could the people of Israel have any salvation. No king, no kingdom itself was able to hold the people together and preserve its destiny; only its religion bound that people. Welch highlights this part of Hosea's message, stating that it was better for the people to lose its kingdom than its soul. It was the will of God that the kingdom should pass away and the people should go out into the desert a kingless and even a homeless folk. This, however, would not be the end of the nation which Yahweh had chosen above all peoples; for it was in the wandering that He had first chosen Israel. The years of the wilderness-wandering when the people was without land or king had been years of its first love, and during this time Israel had been dependent upon no one except Him Who was sufficient for all her needs.⁵ Now again the nation would go into the wilderness; now again it would feel its dependence upon Him and His sufficiency. That uniting force of religion which had moulded the nation at first would this time remain operative as the common bond fettering the Israelite to his neighbor and to his God.

This prophetic teaching was vindicated

² A. C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*, p. 1.

³ Albrecht Alt, "Der Gott der Väter," *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft von Alten und Neuen Testament*, 3te Folge, Heft 12, Stuttgart, 1929, p. I.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

ated and underscored by the Exile itself:

Israel was back in the wilderness, but it was still Israel and it still had its God. Judah was reduced to a remnant, but the remnant clung to its faith. In North and South the nation refused to die, because in its religion it found its common bond and its aspiration. Slowly and painfully it began to draw itself together again. Instead of sitting down to lament over what was gone and could never come back, it rallied on that which it could never lose except by its own choice. Its religion, which had been the nerve of its first beginning, gave it strength and hope to begin anew. History has many dramatic scenes and contrasts in its book of remembrance, but in all its long gallery there is no contrast so vivid as that between the fall of Nineveh and the fall of Israel. Assyria passed out of history in one swift hour of collapse, because it had nothing on which it could rally, for in this unstable world it is the unseen things which both abide and remain. These came to the rescue of Israel which Nineveh had beaten to its knees.⁶

In such a lyric passage Welch gives tribute to that cohesive force of Israel's common religion and common sense of destiny interpreted only through that religion which the power of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome was never able to vanquish. It is this deep-seated conviction, this basic confidence ingrained in the very fiber of the Israelite and the Jew, which we maintain is the priceless heritage that the Christian Community received from the "old Israel."

We have spoken of the cohesive power of Israel's religion which from the time of the Exodus until the Return exercised such a remarkable force upon the life of the people, and we have seen that it was this religion which lay at the

heart of Israel's solidarity, not primarily racial or geographic affinity. The basic element of community among the people being religious rather than political or social, the people was thus from the outset raised above the usual restrictions and had a freedom which allowed it to develop, in the centuries immediately preceding Christianity, into a striking concept of a Community, higher than any held by its contemporaries. The circumscribing, confining limits of nationalism were in a large measure transcended so that Judaism developed more and more on a supra-national plane until it approximated more nearly than did any other people a universal religious Community.

On the other hand, there is a sense in which Jewish nationalism was so deeply rooted in the fiber of the people that it never forgot its solidarity as a race, and this facet of the complex Jewish consciousness shines most clearly in times of political crisis, as Loewe rightly indicates.⁷ For example, among the Jews of the Restoration nationalism was produced by purely political causes. For nearly a century after Alexander's assumption of world power, during the period of the Ptolemies, the Jews changed only slightly in their position among other peoples. But when Palestine came under the rule of the Seleucids and the latter fostered the spread of Hellenic institutions and customs, the Jewish spirit of nationality grew steadily and the new era began. When Antiochus IV attempted to suppress Judaism and substitute the worship of the Olympian Zeus, he met with intense opposition which did much to mark out the severely-limited nationalism which

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. This same idea is succinctly expressed by Hans Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, pp. 27-28.

⁷ Loewe, *op. cit.*, p. 586.

followed. During this period Palestine was the scene of a bitter cleavage between Hellenism and Judaism. Everything pertaining to Hellenism was intensely despised and, conversely, everything of Jewish character was hotly championed. The gap between the two cultures became complete, and Jewish nationalism was the inevitable result. But even here it must be remembered that the origin of the struggle was not rooted merely in the interest of racial purity and political independence, but in the interest of these for the maintenance of their own religion. "The beginning of the conflict was a fight for religious liberty; the end resolved itself into a struggle for nationality."⁸

We must say, then, that the Jewish people was originally a race (though always "a race under God") and that it never lost its pride of race. This spirit always gave rise to intense nationalistic feeling. By virtue of their descent alone the Jews held that they were heirs of the promises which were given of old to their forefathers. Nevertheless, such pride in a seeming purity of race alone cannot be supported by true history, and many Jews were willing to extend the privileges of Judaism to other peoples.⁹ This very extension of Judaism throughout the Mediterranean world was the logical result of its religion, a fact which is vital for our understanding of Judaism and of the religious heritage which it afforded the Christian Church. That is,

the natural corollary of the idea of one only God is one religion. That this God would be acknowledged by all nations who would also serve Him was preached from Second Isaiah on,¹⁰ and became the basic faith during the subsequent centuries. The universal religion of a future age so envisioned would be none other than that which God had revealed to His chosen people first. "The Jews were the only people in their world who conceived the idea of a universal religion, and labored to realize it by a propaganda often more zealous than discreet, which made them many enemies; and precisely in the age when the 'anti-universalistic' law was enthroned in the completest authority in Judaism was its expansion at its height."¹¹

In this period after the Return we note, then, two opposing tendencies ever at work, each playing against the other to gain the ultimate advantage. The particularistic attitude, which conceives of God as the God of Israel alone, is represented by Joel 3: 9-14; the universalistic attitude, which denotes a wider mental and religious outlook, by Isaiah 45: 22 and by the book of Jonah.¹² The former attitude with its jealous restrictions seems to emphasize the racial, genealogical, and nationalistic affinities in Israel; whereas the latter attitude in its zealotry transcends these boundaries and reaches out on the basis of religion alone to other peoples. Prejudice of race and nation did ever show

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ A. C. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, p. 7. See there his examples of Jewish proselytism among other peoples and the hatred against the Jews which arose from this very tendency.

¹⁰ Cf. Zech. 8: 20-23; 14: 16-21; 14: 9 with Isa. 45: 22, 23; 54: 5.

¹¹ G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. I, pp. 22-23.

¹² These examples as representative of the particularistic and universalistic attitudes are taken from W. O. E. Oesterley and Th. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 315-316 (n. 1).

itself in the life of that unique people, but as the political fortunes of the nation declined more and more and the sovereignty of the Persian, Greek, and Roman empires was ever more strongly felt, the people realized that it could not have its own separate polity but would be a people living under foreign domination. Its theocratic convictions, which in the last analysis arose from its religious consciousness, came stronger than ever to the fore and stamped upon the people its unique character. Wherever they were, the Jews were a "nation," but always a "nation under God," i.e. a nation in the theocratic sense. The theological concept of a universal Church—of a people bound together by a common religion rather than by a common government or by national solidarity—arose in Judaism first and was taken over by Christianity.¹³ It was, then, in the light of this unique religious consciousness in Judaism that the early Christians understood themselves as a theocratic Community.

THE COVENANT RELATIONSHIP

To speak of Israel's peculiar position among the nations of history, to speak of her unique consciousness as a theocratic Community, to speak at all of Israel's contribution to Christianity, is to speak of the covenant relationship. Without a knowledge of the Hebrew conception of the covenant and of the relationship which Israel understood to exist between herself and her Covenant Lord, we can in no way discern the importance of Hebraic religion and culture. True, we do not have to find the covenant as deeply rooted in "Hebraic psychology" as Johannes Pedersen has, nor do we have to lay upon the concept

of the covenant such overwhelming stress as is found in Walther Eichrodt's works; but we must realize with the latter that "in the name of Yahweh and in the covenant sanctioned by Him the tribes find the uniting bond which shows itself equal to the centrifugal tendencies of tribal separation and from the very separated elements creates a whole with a common law, a common cultus, and a common consciousness of history."¹⁴

A common law was recognized because the idea of revelation carries with it as a corollary the giving of the law and because God's covenant sets forth both what He promises to do for Israel and what He requires of her. These promises and demands had to be revealed and then preserved. This is what Dr. Burrows means when he writes, "The long and complicated history of the various law codes incorporated into the Pentateuch is governed by this conception."¹⁵ Thus the earliest legislation (Ex. 21-23) is called "the book of the Covenant" (24: 7), and the commandments in Ch. 34 "the words of the covenant, the ten words" (34: 28). By such legal, covenantal prescriptions, and their later developments, was the cultus regulated. The worship of the Temple cannot be viewed without an eye to the Pentateuchal legislation, which in turn is understood in light of the covenant.

From the covenant relationship we derive not only Israel's common law and common cultus but also—and of the

¹⁴ Walther Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Band I, Leipzig, p. 8.

¹⁵ Millar Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology*, pp. 11-12. The reader must be referred to the illuminating treatments of "Revelation through the Law" and "The Election of Israel" in H. Wh. Robinson's *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament* (pp. 211-22; 148-59).

¹³ Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

most importance for our study—her common consciousness of history. The concept of the covenant gave the Hebrew not only a clear perception of his own life within the nation but of his nation's role in history. Because of Israel's election by Yahweh and the covenant relationship in which she stands to Him, she realizes her existence as a nation covenanted with her Lord. For her, therefore, all history becomes *Glaubensgeschichte* and *Heilsgeschichte*. She is the people whom Yahweh brought up out of bondage from Egypt and wedded to Himself at Sinai.¹⁶ She is His peculiar people, a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Ex. 19: 5). This is the cardinal tenet of her faith in the one God. This is her interpretation of history. This is one aspect of her unique religious consciousness by which her offspring—the early Christian Community—perceived its special relationship to its covenant Lord, the Risen Messiah.

THE TEMPLE

Not only was the early Christian Church under great debt to Judaism for the consciousness of a religious solidarity unique in the Near East but for the institutions of Judaism which to a large measure formed the basis of its own worship. Concerning the importance of the synagogue for Christian worship all students today are in agreement. But often the importance of the Temple is minimized and its position in Judaism even deprecated. However, we hold that the Temple did not have the deadly, legalizing effect on religion that is sometimes asserted but rather that it

¹⁶ Or at Horeb: Ex. 19: 5; 34: 10; Lev. 26: 9; and renewed in the plains of Moab: Deut. 28: 69 (Heb.).

also had a contribution to make to the liturgy of the Christian Church. It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with the sacrificial rites or gradations of ecclesiastical hierarchy found in the post-Exilic Temple, but we can turn briefly to an evaluation of the Temple's place in the religion of the Jews.

After the Exile, the Temple and its sacrifices took as large a part in Judaism as before the first destruction. The prophets did not deprecate the Temple and the sacrifices as such, rather they denounced sacrifices when brought in a wrong spirit or regarded as licenses to sin. Jeremiah (3: 16 ff.) clearly inveighs against those people who maintained that the Temple was inviolate and that because of its inviolability they would be safeguarded from the consequences of their wrongdoing. In fact, the prophets of the Return seem to favor sacrifices. Malachi (3: 4) looks forward to the time—both in the near future and in the Messianic age—when the *Minhah* of Judah and Jerusalem shall again be pleasing to the Lord as it was in the days of old. Both Haggai and Zechariah join in reproaching the people for being indifferent to the work of rebuilding. If the Temple and the sacrifices had truly been renounced, there would have been no possibility of these admonitions. Among the post-Exilic prophets, then, there is little indication that the Temple and its sacrifices were to be relegated to the past.¹⁷

With these Jews of the Second Temple, moreover, we find a pious community which receives much satisfaction from its worship. The animal sacrifices were performed with elaborate

¹⁷ Loewe, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-586; Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27.

ceremony and detailed care, following the earlier ritual. But this was no mere, empty formalism, conducted without the inner support of true piety and sincerity, but rather a wholesome, gratifying act on the part of the worshippers which gave the devotees a sense of forgiveness of sins and of true community with God.¹⁸ Too often the legalistic side of the sacrificial system has been brought to the fore and roundly condemned, its deviation from the purest ethical teaching of the prophets being the only criterion of judgment. That any "real religion" could also have attached a rich cultic life, with sacrifices and sacraments, is expressed with a degree of amazement in certain quarters. The dangers inherent in a legalistic and ritualistic religion are demonstrable in every age; nevertheless, we hold that the Temple cultus in Judaism was to a larger extent than is usually granted a basic element in the religious life of the post-Exilic Palestinian Jew and a factor of real influence in that legacy bequeathed to Christianity.

Moreover, the place of prayer in the Temple is significant. From the passage in I Chronicles:

Blessed be Yahweh, the God of Israel,
From everlasting even to everlasting,
And all the people said, Amen, and praised
Yahweh (16: 36)

we may infer that the service of prayer and praise conducted in the Second Temple was of a liturgical character.¹⁹

¹⁸ G. H. Box, "Worship," Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 791. Wheeler Robinson also feels this, though he does not underline it strongly enough in his interpretation of sacrifice (*op. cit.*, pp. 225-29).

¹⁹ Following Box (*loc. cit.*).

Praise and prayer formed a large part of the worship of this period, and we may rightly surmise that these prayers formed the basis for the liturgy of the Prayer Book which was used in the synagogue. Indeed, the prayers of the individual and the nation are dwelt upon at some length by the Chronicler and form a large part of the Psalter—Judaism's book of praise to its God.²⁰ These pious Jews who worshipped in the Second Temple expressed through its ritual and liturgy their sense of forgiveness, offered their petitions and intercessions, their praise and thanksgiving to the Covenant God Who had called them to be His "holy nation." This expression was an integral part of their distinctive religious consciousness to which the Christian Community was heir.

As it was in the case of the particularistic and universalistic tendencies in late Judaism and as with the revelation of God and the subsequent development of the legalistic Torah, so here we have two sides of a question which we must seek to maintain in proper balance if we are to understand the complex character of this period. It must not be gainsaid that the men of the Return who restored the Temple wished to perpetuate those customs and ideals of the past which, because of the inevitable change history brings, could not fully be called back with all their glory. It must not be gainsaid that the men of the Return thereby showed the smallness of their intellectual stature and the

²⁰ Box, *op. cit.*, p. 791; also Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-34; W. O. E. Oesterley, *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms*, pp. 166-70. See also Welch's excellent studies: *The Work of the Chronicler* (Schweich Lectures for 1938) and *The Psalter in Life, Worship and History* for these pertinent topics.

weakness of their moral fiber by not seeking to establish—as did their brethren of the Diaspora—an institution independent of the old cultus but rather by looking back with longing eye and seeking to recall the Temple cultus with all that it had meant to their fathers. But it must also be recognized, as Welch does here, that even these men—who were mostly peasant-farmers of simple nature—were inspired by a great ideal: the restoration of a rallying-point for Israel, a true Home in which the souls of the people could once again rest; and by the desire to establish some means by which they might preserve for the future the spiritual heritage of their race.²¹ Even the Second Temple, then, takes its place in the frame-work which we are establishing and makes its contribution to Judaism's "spiritual heritage" as well as helping to preserve the heritage itself for the future—in our case, for the early Christian Assembly, God's new Ecclesia.

THE SYNAGOGUE

Previously we have spoken of the fact that Yahweh's revelation to His people on Mount Sinai carried along with it as a corollary the giving of the Law which in turn developed into a codification of legal prescriptions. The Torah became "the Book," the repository of revelation, and this revelation was of supreme moment for the whole history of the nation. It is in the light of this idea of revealed religion that we find, as Professor Moore indicates, the theologi-

cal implications of the origin of the synagogue. That is, since the Jews were convinced that in the sacred Scriptures God had revealed His will to His people and that the welfare of the nation and the fulfilment of its destiny depended upon the nation's conformity to His revealed will, they naturally were intent upon disseminating knowledge of the Scripture among all their people and upon educating them in the principles and practice of this religion. Such strong desire for the education of the people was realized through the two institutions which so largely characterized and determined the course of late Judaism: the synagogue and the school.²²

It must be said, however, that even though the synagogue did become one of these institutions of "normative Judaism" ²³ through which the education of the people in the Scriptures and their dedication to the revealed will of God were accomplished and continually nourished, it is not probable that the synagogue was begun with so definite a purpose. The exact conditions under which the synagogue came into being and the time of its origin are unknown. But, as it is pointed out by many scholars, Jewish and Christian, it may reasonably be held that the synagogue

had its antecedents in the spontaneous gatherings of the Jews in Babylonia and other lands of the exile on the sabbaths and at times of the old seasonal feasts or on fast days (Zech. 7: 5; Isa. 58), to confirm one another in fidelity to their religion in the midst of heathen-

²² Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-83.

²¹ Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*, pp. 10-11. The reader is referred to the last chapter of this work where Welch, with refreshing acumen and sympathy, presents both the dangers and the beauty of Judaism's "new polity."

²³ For the *termini* of the period in which "normative Judaism" developed, we adopt, with Moore and others, the dates 458 B.C. and 219 A.D.: for the more detailed discussion, see Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-13.

ism, and encourage themselves in the hope of restoration.²⁴

We assume that these gatherings of the Jews for worship, exhortation, and instruction in the midst of a heathen community proved to be of such religious value that they were continued and spread to other communities. The pattern of the early meetings became fixed by custom and, combining with elements of the Temple worship, developed into the liturgy of the later synagogue service. Whether or not this attractive and reasonable conjecture concerning the origin of the synagogue is correct in its details, at the opening of the Christian era the synagogue was already an institution of long establishment and one to be found in all the localities of the Dispersion where there were enough Jews for its maintenance. Every city and town in Palestine had its synagogue, and there were many in Jerusalem itself, adjacent to the Temple, and even one within its precincts.²⁵

The development in the synagogue, which took place between its origin during the Exilic period and the regulated form which we meet in the New Testament times, issued forth in two important differences between the early and the late stages. First, rather than being merely a substitution for the Temple worship among those Jews who had been deprived of participation in their regular cultus, the synagogue gained an independent position as the seat of a rational worship without offering or sacrifice. Secondly, regular

instruction in religion had come forth not only as an organic part of worship but even to be its most prominent feature.²⁶

Philo briefly describes the service of the Hellenistic synagogue, particularly as an institution of instruction in the Scriptures. Moses commanded that the Jews should assemble on the seventh day, and being seated should reverently and decorously listen to the Law, in order that no one might be ignorant of it; and such is the present custom. One of the priests who is present, or one of the elders, reads to them the divine laws and expounds them in detail, continuing till some time in the late afternoon; then the congregation disperses, having acquired knowledge of the divine laws and making much progress in religion (Fragment [from the first book of the Hypothetica] in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* viii; Philo, ed Mangey, II, 630 f.). In another work Philo writes: "Innumerable schools (*didascalēa*) of practical wisdom and self-control and manliness and uprightness and the other virtues are opened every seventh day in all cities. In these schools the people sit decorously, keeping silence and listening with the utmost attention out of a thirst for refreshing discourse, when one of the best qualified stands up and instructs them in what is best and most conducive to welfare, things by which their whole life may be made better." The two comprehensive topics of this manifold discourse are piety and holiness toward God, and benevolence and uprightness toward men (*De special. legg.* ii; *De septenario* c. 6, ss. 62 f. [ed. Mangey II, 282]).

It does not lie in Philo's purpose in these places to speak of the worship of the synagogue, but the name "places of prayer" [*proseuchai*] is of itself testimony to the fact that instruction was not their sole function.²⁷

²⁶ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 284. See also George Johnston, *The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament*, pp. 19-20.

²⁷ Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-07. Philo refers to synagogues as "places of prayer" in several works; e.g. *In Flacc.*, 6, 7; *Leg. ad Gaium*, 20, 23, 43, 46; *Vita Mos.*, iii, 27 (listed in Oesterley, *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms*, p. 162, n. 1). Moreover, much of the "instruction" to which Philo calls attention is instruction in

²⁴ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 283; and of the origin of the "Great Synagogue," see pp. 31-36, and III, pp. 7-11.

²⁵ Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-85, where he gives as his references M. Yoma 7, 1; M. Soṭah 7, 7 f.; Tos. Sukkah 4, 11.

The regulated synagogue of the type found at the beginning of the Tannaic age was of incalculable importance for the preservation of Judaism. Since in the synagogue the Jews were instructed in the truths and duties of the religion which had been revealed to them, the institution was considered the place where true worship of God was offered. As Moore states: "The consequence of the establishment of such a rational worship for the whole subsequent history of Judaism is immeasurable. Its persistent character, and, it is not too much to say, the very preservation of its existence through all the vicissitudes of its fortunes, it owes more than anything else to the synagogue."²⁸ Nor is its great importance limited to the contribution it made to Judaism; for it determined the form which Christian worship took, and in part through the church furnished the model in Mohammedanism. "Thus Judaism gave to the world not only the fundamental ideas of these great monotheistic religions but the institutional forms in which they have perpetuated and propagated themselves."²⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In surveying the covenant, the Temple, and the synagogue we have seen several sides of that distinctive religious character of the Jews and the way they ex-

pression, ethics, and the Scriptures, showing thereby that worship was a fundamental purpose in the synagogue. That the service of praise and prayer did form a large part is shown in Loewe, *op. cit.*, p. 595 f.; cf. Loewe, "The Ideas of Pharisaism," in *Judaism and Christianity*, vol. II, pp. 42-43; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131 f.; Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁸ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

pressed their common worship—the fundamental bond of union which held together in the closest federation the people of Israel. True recognition of this religious consciousness prepares us to understand the peculiar heritage which the early Christian Community possessed. Through the worship expressed in their Temple and synagogues, the Jews set forth ever more clearly their conviction that they were the chosen people of God—a conviction which passes over into Christianity in the concept of the *ekklesia* as the "Assembly of God" met together expressly for His worship, the "true Israel." We understand this when we realize that the usual name for the *religious community* of Jews was "Israel." Israel is "the portion of the Lord, and the inheritance of God."³⁰ Israel is "a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance and a priestly and a royal nation and for His own possession."³¹ Israel's holiness is thus expressed in Leviticus: "Speak ye unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them: Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy."³² God had elected them as His chosen race,³³ to be His royal priesthood. "Ye shall be named the priests of Yahweh; men shall call you the ministers of our God."³⁴ Though the origin of these concepts may have derived from the time when Israel was a nation in the more secular sense of the word, the concepts were preserved and continued when Israel had ceased to be a territorial entity and found her unity in her

³⁰ Ps. Sol. 14: 3.

³¹ Jubilees 33: 20 (ed. Charles).

³² Lev. 11: 44-45; 19: 2; 20: 7.

³³ Ps. Sol. 9: 16; Isa. 43: 20-21.

³⁴ Isa. 61: 6.

religious entity. As such they were adopted by later Judaism and passed over into Christianity when the latter conceived of herself as the True Israel. These concepts were summed up in the word *ekklêsia*. "Thus was created the technical term for a religious society apart from, and opposed to, all other forms of association."³⁵

This consciousness on the part of the Jews that they were the one people of the earth who had been chosen by Yahweh, with Whom they had entered into a covenant relationship—this distinctive consciousness gave Judaism that peculiar religious unity which allowed her alone, in the midst of her contemporaries, to formulate the concept of a Church. True, the beginnings of the Israelite nation and even the later development of Judaism did not realize those ideals of separation and universalism, which are inherent in the concept of a Church, in their over-all implications, but at times hid them completely from the horizon by the expression of intense nationalism which perennially arose. But this nationalism, and the accompanying identification of religion with the state, was broken down by the

mingling of the Jews with other cultures and the operation of other such secular forces. However, Judaism's true genius is reflected in the fact that during such political fortunes she allowed her religion to develop into that comprehensiveness which other contemporary religions did not develop. The various cults which were popular during the Greek and Roman imperial periods—the worships of Cybele and Attis, of Isis and Osiris, and particularly that of Mithras—tried to change with the growth of the empire, but the transformation was by the nature of the cults limited.³⁶ They failed, but Judaism, with its unique religious consciousness of community and its peculiar feeling of solidarity in a common worship—which we have been tracing in this paper—continued to develop towards true universalism. Only Judaism really gave birth to the concept of a Church; and only Jesus, through His life, death, resurrection, and heavenly ascension, gave to this concept reality. That reality is His Church—God's Ecclesia in Christ.

³⁶ See Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 12, and Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-14, for a more detailed treatment of the failure of pagan religions to realize any true concept of a universal community.

³⁵ Headlam, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

A NEW BOOK ON THE PARABLES

By FREDERICK C. GRANT

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Die Gleichnisse Jesu. By Joachim Jeremias.
Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1947, pp. 118.
Sw. Fr. 9.

This latest volume in the Swiss series of "Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments" was published last year—almost a half-century after Jülicher's famous work, which set the standard for all modern interpretation of the parables. Of those which have been published during the past half-century, one can name very few volumes which really deserve to be placed on the same shelf with Jülicher: I should say, among others, the books by Dodd, Oesterley, and B. T. D. Smith—and also Fiebig's books on the Jewish parables. Dr. Jeremias emphatically belongs in this select group. Brief as it is, his work opens up a new approach.

Like Jülicher and other modern interpreters, Jeremias sets aside the perverse theory of interpretation found in Mark 4:11-12. It is simply impossible to view Jesus' parables as designed to withhold his teaching from anybody. One needs only to read the rest of the chapter in Mark to discover how completely untenable Mark's theory is. The parables in the little collection in that chapter are, all of them, genuine parables or "illustrations," not allegories, and certainly not stories or examples intended to hide the truth or mislead the hearers. Part of the explanation of Mark's strange view is to be found in the experience of the Gentile church—where plenty of people looked upon Christ and Christianity, and the parables as well—as one more mysterious

oriental cult with its secret doctrine or "mysteries." Another factor which helps to account for Mark's theory is his own larger hypothesis of the *Verstockungsgericht* which had overtaken the Jewish people. They were not so much self-blinded as they were blinded and deafened by a divine judgment which had come upon them (something like the "hardening" which Paul described in Romans 9-11). This theory of St. Mark also hangs together with his view of the Messianic secret—Jesus acted as Messiah, and yet did not wish anyone to recognize him as such.

In order to understand the parables of Jesus, or even to grasp his true character as a teacher, one has to get through and beyond this entanglement of theory which even the earliest gospel spun across the path. If we had an out-and-out Hebrew or Aramaic, Palestinian, first-generation account of Jesus' teaching, how fortunate we should be! And yet the theory of Mark can easily be separated from the data which he derived from tradition, and so we are in no worse case. In fact it is, an advantage to be able to see the contrast between the outlook of Gentile Christianity and the ethos of the primitive Palestinian tradition.

Dr. Jeremias repeatedly points out features in our Lord's parables which reflect authentic Palestinian conditions: the sowing of seed in the parable of "The Sower" (it ought to be called the parable of "The Seeds," or rather of "The Soils") implies that the seed is sown *before* the ground is plowed or

dragged. This is exactly in accordance with Palestinian custom (p. 6). A wedding feast may last long into the night; but a traveler from a distance will ordinarily arrive by day (p. 34). A "lamp under a bushel" means a lamp whose light is extinguished—not merely darkened: this was the safest way to extinguish an ancient lamp (p. 79). The publican would not even lift up his eyes to heaven—let alone his hands; it was customary to raise the hands in prayer (p. 87). The importunate neighbor, demanding three loaves of bread, is not so improbable; oriental hospitality would explain the situation (p. 89). It is not the "crumbs" that fall from the rich man's table, but the crumbled and broken bits of bread which had been used in lieu of finger-bowls, the bread being tossed to the dogs under the table (p. 95). The guest without a wedding-garment was not necessarily a poor man who could not afford the proper attire, but was a man wearing his *everyday* clothes, which would be more or less soiled and dirty; in honor of the wedding he should have washed his clothes, and his failure to do so was a direct insult to his host (p. 96). A yoke is not an added burden, but an instrument to make it easier to carry burdens—by spreading the weight across the shoulders and thus resting it upon the back and legs rather than upon the arms; yokes have been and still are used by the peasantry of Palestine—and in many other countries (p. 98). "Greet no man by the way" reflects an oriental custom; Easterners always have plenty of time, and detest haste. A greeting would naturally lead to an extended, time-consuming conversation (p. 104). A mustard bush in Palestine is no tiny weed, but grows to

be three or four meters high, and "the birds of heaven nest in the branches thereof" (p. 110).

But it is not simply with these interesting details of the parables, with their oriental background, that the author is concerned. He insists that back of the parables—which came to be used in the church's preaching, and hence received a somewhat different interpretation than was originally intended—lies the primary purpose of Jesus in using such illustrations in his teaching. It is at this point that Jeremias breaks new ground and leaves Jülicher far behind. His views are in many ways identical with those of Professor Dodd, chiefly on the principle of "realized eschatology."

Professor Jeremias recognizes the critical problems which confront the historian, chiefly the problem set by the fact that the parables were remembered and handed down, in the early church, apart from their original context and occasion. It is as if out of the sermons of a great preacher only his illustrations were remembered, not the points they were meant to illustrate; there is no question of the authenticity of the illustrations, but their original reference can be made out, now, only by inference and hypothesis. More than that, the theory of interpretation applied to them even in the earliest gospel (Mark) and followed by the others (Matt. and Luke: John gives us allegories, not parables), is the impossible one set forth in Mk. 4:10-12. This theory, so appropriate to Mark's *Verstockungstheorie* (theory of the divine judgment of blindness which had overtaken Israel) but so inappropriate to Jesus' parables, must—as almost all modern exegetes now recognize—be discarded or ignored. (See the thorough

discussion on pp. 7-10; Prof. Jeremias takes the logion as referring to Jesus' teaching as a whole, not to the parables only.) The problem of the interpretation of the parables is accordingly to get back behind the primitive church and its tradition to Jesus himself: which is one of the principles, if not the principle, of *Formgeschichte*.

By repeated tests, it becomes probable that the early church tradition ignored the original audience to which the parables were addressed (many of them were probably controversial in aim, and were addressed to the scribes and Pharisees or other opponents and critics of Jesus), and converted them into exhortations (*paraineseis*) addressed to the church itself. Thus the eschatological tone and emphasis were retained but the application was altered; it was not the nation or the crowd who were warned to awake—or to stay awake—but the church and its leaders (p. 30). Theological (esp. Christological) tags and conclusions were sometimes provided—esp. in Luke, where the concluding verses sometimes read like the notes of an early church preacher or teacher, who used the parables for Christian indoctrination and exhortation (e.g. Luke 16:1-13). Allegorization was also applied to the parables (e.g. Matt. 13:36-43, where the very diction shows that this is the work of the evangelist; pp. 54-56) though Luke's peculiar material ("L") is conspicuously free from this trait, and shows what the parables were like in their original state, i.e. non-allegorical. This is a principle on which exegesis owes a debt to Jülicher. Finally, the parables were given a wholly new *Rahmen* or setting, with new introductions, contexts, and conclusions; often,

likewise, they were arranged in groups—some of the groups being earlier than the gospels (e.g. the group in Mk. 4).

Thus the parables have a two-fold *Sitz im Leben*: the concrete, original, specific setting in the life of Jesus, and the general didactic setting in the preaching and teaching of the early church. It is only when this situation is recognized that we can hope to work back to the original meaning or relevance of these precious illustrations (cf. pp. 73 f).

Chapter III summarizes the "message" of the parables, under seven headings: The present reality of salvation (*die Gegenwart des Heils*), God's mercy towards the sinful, the approaching crisis, the demand of the hour, the experience of discipleship, the consummation, the basis of confidence; a brief section at the end deals with Jesus' acted parables. Again and again, the author points out features in the stories which reflect their authentic nature (e.g. the passive form of the verb used as a circumlocution for the divine name; "justified" in Lk. 18:14 means acquitted by God; "before the angels" or "in the presence of the angels" means in God's presence; and so on); such observations also give us useful clues for the interpretation and application of the parables today.

The conclusion is worth quoting in full (p. 114): "When we undertake to recover the original language and meaning of the parables, one thing stands out clearly, viz. how all the parables of Jesus are filled with the 'secret of the Reign of God' (Mk. 4:11), which means the certainty of the 'self-realizing eschatology' [a term like C. H. Dodd's 'realized eschatology,' but preferred by Jeremias. The phrase, 'sich realisieren-

den Eschatologie,' was suggested to him by Ernst Haenchen in a letter]. The hour of fulfilment has arrived—this is the fundamental note (*Grundton*) in them all. The strong man has been disarmed, the powers of evil must flee, the physician has come to the sick, the lepers are being cleansed, the great debt is being forgiven, the door of the

father's house is open, the poor and the beggars are invited to a meal, an infinitely good Master pays the full wage [even when not earned], and endless joy fills human hearts. God's year of grace has dawned. For the One has appeared, whose hidden glory shines behind every saying and every parable, the Savior."

A RADICAL VISION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

A CHAPEL ADDRESS

By JOHN C. BENNETT

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We are often told that the interest in social justice is being swamped by the interest in theology. This is an intolerable contrast and any theology that has the effect of undermining the concern for social justice is, in so far, bad theology. But there is one problem here that is quite serious. It is not likely that you will have a deep concern about social justice kindled by reading many of the great theological classics. How many of the pages of Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Schleiermacher, Kierkegaard, even Ritschl, will actually help to bring you to this concern? Even the New Testament is ambiguous at this point. We are helped here more by the Old Testament prophets.

Where, then, does the concern come from? It comes not from systems of theology but from the interaction between our understanding of some elements of Christian faith that are prior to theology and the moral demands of our contemporary experience. It comes especially from our understanding of the will of God, of the meaning of Chris-

tian love, of the reality of human sin in the light of our knowledge of the world and its needs. Often in the past the full moral meaning of Christianity has been obscured by a conservative interpretation of divine providence as a sanction for the *status quo* or by a complacently paternalistic conception of Christian love that contained no threat to the existing organization of society. Today we have no excuse when we allow ourselves to be so misled. What is required of us is a radical vision of social justice. We may not gain that radical vision from the study of the theological classics but if we bring it to that study we shall find that theology will greatly illumine our understanding of the perennial human conditions within which we must work for justice and that it will help us to see how this vision of justice is related to God's total purpose.

I shall speak about this radical vision of social justice.

In the first place it should be a vision of every group of human beings as equally objects of God's love and con-

cern. If there is any inequality in God's concern for men it is that paradoxical kind that undercuts all of our human schemes of inequality—it is God's special concern for the lost sheep. It is the way in which in the economy of God things get turned upside down and the first shall be last and the last first.

If this talk about God's equal concern for all groups of human beings seems platitudinous, think what it really means. It means that all of the ways in which the privileged few have exploited or lorded it over the masses of men throughout history are an offense to God. It means that it is intolerable that there should be any persons, any groups of persons, who are our victims or the victims of policies or systems to which we consent. It means that every child has the same right as every other child—as your child or mine—to the conditions that are favorable for his development as a person, the right to be free from malnutrition, from the humiliation of racial segregation, the right to have the same access to the means of health and education. "Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it is profitable for him that a great millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be sunk in the depth of the sea" (Matt. 18:6). Those words of Jesus on the surface may not seem to have any bearing on social justice but when we think through their implications in terms of the concrete conditions that do cause such little ones to stumble in our time we see that they must lead to this radical vision of social justice. It means that, whatever may be said about the importance of avoiding a dead level of equality either in income or status because of the varieties of function that

must be performed and because of the requirements for incentive, all such differences must be relative and provisional and should not be so great as to lead to chasms between classes. The burden of proof should be on all inequalities—rather than the other way round as has been the case through most of human history—because they tend to create unjust differences of opportunity for children and because they breed bitterness and snobbishness. The radical vision of which I speak should, then, first include this emphasis upon justice that always feels the pull of equality.

In the second place, this radical vision should help us to discount all of the current rationalizations of injustice that are the stock-in-trade of our culture. This radical vision should lead Christians in every country to seek out and oppose those spiritual obstacles to justice that are most effective and which often are sanctioned by the Churches.

The great Christian missionary, Hendrick Kraemer, is hard at work in Holland where he finds that the most effective spiritual obstacle to justice in connection with the colonial question is to be found in paternalistic interpretations of Christian responsibility which are widespread in the Church.

Where in America do we find spiritual obstacles to justice? I believe that at present the answer is that we find them in a particular pattern of thought and attitude that controls the mind of a very large part of the American community. Let me suggest some of the marks of this pattern.

1. There is the conviction that business activities are almost morally autonomous, that in so far as they are subject to a moral code it is a very conventional code that has not caught up with the

most serious new temptations that are problems for our generation. The Chairman of the Board of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—the wealthiest of all American corporations—in defending the policy of racial segregation in the Metropolitan's great housing projects in New York City said recently that this was not a social issue but that it was merely a matter of business and economics (New York *Herald-Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1947). The effrontery of this statement was all the greater because in important ways the Metropolitan is a partner of the city in these enterprises. Both tax concessions and the city's use of its power to condemn property are involved.

2. There is the tendency to concentrate on all of the dangers and abuses in the use of governmental power and to ignore the dangers and abuses in the use of private economic power.

3. There is the assumption that justice comes to a nation as the byproduct of the freedom of business men and that economic health comes only as the byproduct of the profits of business men.

4. There is the refusal to admit that there is any decent maximum beyond which we cannot justify the increase of private wealth. One of our finest Christian citizens, who is the head of a great and, on the whole, enlightened corporation, explained that a plan by which the executives of his corporation receive large bonuses is good for their incentive. His own incentive is well cared for by a bonus of \$90,000 in addition to a salary of over \$100,000! When I read that statement (*The New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1947) I was reminded of a passage

in R. H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society*, one of the finest books on social ethics of the last generation. Professor Tawney wrote:

"It is said that among the barbarians, where wealth is still measured by cattle, great chiefs are described as hundred-cow men. The manager of a great enterprise who is paid \$400,000 a year might similarly be described as a hundred-family man, since he receives the income of a hundred families. It is true that special talent is worth any price and that a payment of \$400,000 a year to the head of a business with a turnover of millions is economically a bagatelle. But economic considerations are not the only considerations. There is also 'the point of honor.' And the truth is that these hundred-family salaries are ungentlemanly" (p. 178).

Those who are under the domination of this pattern of thought respond automatically in the same way to such issues as the following: labor legislation, government initiative in economic matters (except perhaps in the case of tariffs), the lowering of income taxes, price control, European Socialism. This does not mean that on all such questions they are always wrong in detail. The thing that betrays the pattern is the automatic character of the response.

This pattern acts as a kind of fog that has settled down over America. It is often very thick in the Protestant Churches. The radical vision of justice of which I have been speaking should prepare us to see the realities in our world in spite of this fog.

Behind this radical vision of justice there must be love that is the reflection of God's own love for all of his children. Love brings to the cause of justice imagination and caring.

EVANGELISM: IS IT POSSIBLE FOR US?

By WALTER LOWRIE

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Now that the Presiding Bishop and the National Council have prescribed Evangelism as the principal task for our Church during the coming year, some may perhaps be disquieted by a vague apprehension that maybe our Church is not so well qualified for this important task as others are. The suspicion that in comparison with others we are at a disadvantage in the attempt to carry out a commission given us not only by the Presiding Bishop but by God himself is the more disquieting because it is evident that the power to win men to Christ has steadily been diminishing in all the Churches which compete with us, excepting only the enthusiastic sects which we are disposed to ignore. Persons who feel such a doubt about our ability to perform the task now laid upon us, but feel it obscurely, without discerning the reasons, may perhaps now be willing, if not glad, to see this dark subject illuminated.

We have some reason to boast that our Church is as well equipped as any other for *building up* men upon their most holy faith—but perhaps not for initiating faith. Certainly, in what is called “technic” we are inferior to none. This movement has been launched with a display of technical efficiency which is perfectly astonishing. And this is important; for fishing, even fishing for men, is a craft requiring skill. But skill is not enough. How about the bait? You cannot fish successfully with a bare hook. The only bait we can legiti-

mately use is the Gospel. But what is our Gospel?

We expose the poverty of our equipment as fishermen when we can find no better way to describe this enterprise of ours than by calling it an effort “to extend the Kingdom of God.” This is like fishing with a bare hook, or it may seem like saying, “Come into our net.” For the “visitors” are simply instructed to beg people to come to Church. We make it plain, to be sure, that at this time we ask for no money. But what have we to give those who come? We can indeed offer them salvation—but we do not dare to do it. “The saving of souls,” is an obsolete phrase; yet it is in fact the only motive capable of inspiring missionaries (“visitors”) with fervent zeal. I reflect too that these visitors would go out with more “faith and courage,” if they were given to understand clearly that they are commissioned, not only, as it is said, by their Rector, their Bishop, and even by the Presiding Bishop, but by Christ himself.

Salvation is clearly an eschatological thought, and we commonly eschew eschatology. But the Kingdom of God, if rightly understood, it also eschatological; and, indeed, without eschatology evangelism is nonsense.

Being an old man, already near the end, I enjoy (if I may so say a certain advantage in the the fact that I am now compelled, if I did not ardently desire it, to think often of the Last Things.

The Last Things—*ta eschata*—would that we were able to avoid the word eschatology! The termination "ology" suggests a theory—whereas in fact (to employ a well known saying of Grover Cleveland's) "it is not a theory but a condition which confronts us." And this is a condition which every man, of every age, should be compelled to face. For it is the universal condition of mortal men. If we were not mortal, we might feel no need of religion, being ourselves "like gods."

I was not yet an old man when I welcomed and helped to divulgate Karl Barth's indignant dictum, that "a Christianity which is not altogether and utterly eschatological, has altogether and utterly nothing to do with Jesus Christ."

In an historical retrospect every one must see that the nerve of the Christian message of awakening, whether it was addressed to pagans or Christians, has always been an appeal to the Last Things: the judgment to come; and the glory which shall be revealed in us. No message can be expected to arouse our generation unless it stresses these two notes: the *tremendum* and the *fascinans*, in which Rudolf Otto discovered the fundamental traits, not only of Christianity, but of all real religion. Jacob after his experience at Bethel expressed them both in the same breath: "How dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God, this is the gate of heaven." I venture to say that none of our churches is likely to prove a gate of heaven, unless the people there have a numinous experience, an experience of the dreadful majesty of God, seeing him there in that temple "high and lifted up." How can this sense of God's awful presence be evoked? By preaching a Gospel which

is at once both *tremendum* and *fascinans*, which repels and at the same time attracts.

In my youth I was envious of the effect a sermon by Jonathan Edwards is said to have produced. Yet I could not then, nor would I now, preach on such a theme as "Sinners in the Hand of an Angry God." In our day such a sermon would only move men to mirth. I leave you to reflect how far this situation may be due to the secularization of Christianity, which moves men to discard other-worldliness in favor of this-worldliness. But certain it is that any preaching which leaves out the *fascinans* puts undue stress upon the *tremendum*.

Now, however, we leave out both—even the *fascinans*, which is a principal theme in Catholic thought. When both are left out, what motive remains for religious revival?

Is it not ominous that in our day, when historical scholarship has revealed the prominence of the eschatological outlook in the four Gospels and in the Epistles of St. Paul, the majority of Christians, and among them many scholars, persist in repudiating eschatology, either openly or covertly, either passionately or coldly? Some discard it superciliously by the remark that the universal catastrophe predicted by Christ did not come to pass—as if it were not true nevertheless that every man is living, "living dangerously," on the brink of eternity! In our day and among men of culture only the Theology of Crisis and what in America is called Neo-Orthodoxy take seriously the fear and hope prompted by the Last Things, and recognize in this the core of evangelism.

Among us the Liberals continue to

talk platonically about the immortality of the soul and ignore the eschatological belief in the resurrection of the dead. But among us a commoner way of escaping poignant reflection upon the Last Things is by conceiving the Church as "the extension of the Incarnation," a continuation of it which is almost natural, even if it is called supernatural—instead of recognizing simply, as the Scripture commonly does, that it is the creation and work of the Holy Ghost. This entails the consequence that the sacraments, having lost long ago their eschatological reference, and now even their obvious relevance to the operation of the Spirit of God, can be conceived as effective only *ex opere operato*, in the crudest sense of that term.

Of those who seek individually to enter our Communion we do not commonly require an explicit notion of what the Church is: we are satisfied with a *fides implicita*. And in this we are practically justified; for hardly any one comes to the Church without the expectation, not always realized, of tasting there the powers of the world to come, of finding Christ there in the midst of them, and of receiving some increment of spiritual grace.

If we were content to describe the Church in such terms as these, as the Scripture commonly does, not many would be repelled. But, in fact, all Protestants who might be inclined to join us collectively are repelled by our exorbitant insistence upon the importance of the Church, by our tiresome reiteration of this word, as though there were nothing more to be said about the Gospel except that the Church is the mystical Body of Christ. And when, in spite of this obstacle, Christians who are divided from us seek re-union, there

is one party or "school of thought" which would exclude them for the reason that they do not share our interpretation of "the Body of Christ" as an extension of the Incarnation, do not share therefore that peculiar conception of the Church which is all the more dear to Anglo-Catholics because it is shared by no other Communion in Christendom. Hence this doctrine, though no one ventures to account it the most important differentia, is now perhaps the most serious obstacle to re-union. Although I call myself a Catholic, and certainly not a Protestant, and would like to be thought an Anglo-Catholic, I sometimes feel that it would be easier to be a Roman Catholic. At all events, I cannot subscribe to this darling doctrine. And I have no hesitation in contending against it, being convinced as I am that it is not really founded upon the words of Holy Scripture which suggested it but is derived from an Hegelian philosophy. It is an Hegelian idea that salvation is brought about logically, or by what might be called a biological process, a biological necessity, once a man is incorporated in the Body of Christ. This idea is calculated to relieve man of all serious religious tension, since even in our day almost everybody has been baptized in infancy. So, then what? we may ask. What then can be the point of evangelism?

This idea, through a parrot-like repetition, is now widespread, even in areas which are in no sense Anglo-Catholic. But this favorite doctrine, an impediment not only to re-union but to evangelism, is deeply disparaged when it is traced to a source which is manifestly Hegelian, inasmuch as no other system of logic treats ideas as if they were

realities, and realities as if they were ideas, that is, confounds them both, or, in other words, ignores the essential characteristics of reality. In this way it is as easy for us to deify the Church as it was for Hegel to deify the State.

Kierkegaard charged Hegel with affirming (though not in so many words) that "the inside is the outside, and the outside the inside." It is something like that which we do when about the visible Church—the *corpus permixtum*, as St. Augustine felt compelled to call it—we venture to affirm everything that might rightly be affirmed of the mystical Body of Christ. From an Hegelian point of view we might just as well say that the Beginning is the End, and the End the Beginning. The authors of the Report published in *Catholicity* have some justification for saying that "the Redemption is an eschatological fact." And yet it is a dangerous thing to say; for it may encourage others to say, as some have done, that "the Incarnation is an eschatological event." This is equivalent to saying that the Alpha is the Omega, the Beginning is the End, the Church being synthesis. But in this phenomenal world, the world of time, there is no synthesis between these extremes. They can be united only *sub specie aeternitatis*, and are actually united only by Christ, "the Beginning and the End," "which is, and which was, and which is to come."

I do not claim the whole credit for this discovery of the Hegelian character of our doctrine, nor do I have to fight for it single-handed; since it is plainly enough implied by the fourteen distinguished Anglo-Catholic scholars who (in the brochure recently published¹ under

the title of *Catholicity*) unanimously signed a Report to the Archbishop of Canterbury who had requested them "to examine the causes of the deadlock which occurs in discussion between Catholics and Protestants and to consider whether any synthesis between Catholicism and Protestantism is possible." These eminent men come, alas, to the melancholy conclusion that even within the Anglican Communion a synthesis of opposing opinions is hardly possible. Yet they make the wholesome admission that "if others have failed to take the visible Church seriously Catholics have often slipped into an identification of the visible Church with the Kingdom of God." Thus they leave room for eschatology; yet they retrench it when they say, "The Church is a part of the eschatological event." In another place they say, "The authors of this Report are well aware of the share of their own school of thought in these distortions and omissions," namely, with regard to the definition of the Church. But more pertinent here is the statement on page 30: "Influenced by T. H. Green, the writers of the *Lux Mundi* school 'stole honey from the Hegelian hive' in combatting the materialism of their generation." The sweetest morsel they stole from that hive is precisely our favorite doctrine of the Church as the extension of the Incarnation.

This was a cunning way of avoiding eschatology. When Loisy said, "Christ promised the Kingdom—what came was the Church," he caricatured an attitude only too common in the Church of Rome from which he was expelled. But do not his words express only too precisely a thought which is dear to us? Are they any longer a caricature?

We cannot too highly celebrate the

¹ By the Daere Press, Westminster, 1947.

Church, if we do it "according to the proportion of faith." We may think of it as the Body of Christ, if only we remember that this is a metaphor, and that another metaphor, more apt to express his love, represents the Church as the Bride of Christ. But if in any way the idea of the Church is employed to mitigate the painful but salutary tension of a man, the individual, in the presence of his God—then, Good night, evangelism!

In considering the Last Things, I would not dwell insistently upon the judgment to come—though it is true that in religion nothing is really fascinating which is not tremendous. I would lay emphasis upon the *fascinans*, following the prevailing Catholic tradition. Can it be said that we today commonly follow this tradition and dwell insistently upon the heavenly hope? It is not a fascinating hope we hold out to the weary and heavy laden when we interpolate in the Prayer Book the prospect of "a life of perfect service"—in heaven! where God offers us rest, where Christ has promised that we shall reign with him. Perhaps many, like Lucifer, would think it "better to reign in hell than serve in heaven." Knowing the fear of the Lord, I would persuade men to rely upon the bright promises made to the faithful in Christ Jesus, "what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to believe"; I would assure them of peace of a *refrigerium* in

the heavenly country of *requiem aeternum* and *lux perpetua*.

Lately I have been writing a book on art in the early Church, and I think I have made it evident that in the early Catholic age, from the second to the sixth century, even at a time when persons in the highest circles discounted apocalyptic prophecy, and had begun to regard the Church and the Empire as a satisfactory surrogate for the Kingdom of God, belief in the supernal Kingdom and in the incredible promises of Christ remained the principal motive for winning men. The threats of the Gospel were not then so much needed; for in later paganism almost every man knew that he was a dead man without Christ. This is Humanism when it is fully ripe. "Without hope and without God in the world," is St. Paul's way of expressing the despair of paganism.

In our day the situation is much more difficult, the task being, as Kierkegaard puts it, "to introduce Christianity into Christendom," where almost every one is nominally a Christian, and can be brought to life only if he is first convinced against his will that he is dead. In this situation, evangelism, if it is to be effective, must not seek first of all to be acceptable. The "acceptable preacher" is not often a preacher of righteousness. It is through its threats as well as its promises that the Gospel becomes the power of God unto salvation.

AN OUTLINE OF BRUNNER'S THEOLOGY

By WILLIAM JOHN WOLF

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The republication in the United States by the Westminster Press of Emil Brunner's three large works, *The Mediator*, *The Divine Imperative*, and *Man in Revolt*, provides an occasion for a survey of his authorship and for a tentative appraisal of his contribution to theology from an Anglican point of view. The Westminster Press is to be commended for its courage in making these volumes again available to English readers after the destruction of the English plates by enemy action during the war. The dozen or more books of Brunner already translated into English assure the Swiss Professor of Theology at Zürich of an ever expanding circle of American readers. This situation is in itself significant, for Brunner has relatively few followers on the Continent today. By and large with significant exceptions in Scandinavia the post-war complexion of the Continent is deeply Barthian. One of the greatest liabilities to theological reconstruction today in the English speaking world is the absence of translations of Karl Barth's dogmatic theology. Let us hope that translations of Barth will appear within a few years so that he will not suffer the fate of Kierkegaard in being translated en bloc in a later generation. The inability of English readers to have the basic documents before them of the controversy between Barth and Brunner on natural theology is fraught with peril for theological understanding in the ecumenical movement, and is particularly critical for Anglicans who tend by tradition to be sympathetic to Brun-

ner's side of the controversy. Anglicans are probably more in need of meeting the thunderbolts of Karl Barth than the more measured and traditional orthodoxy of Brunner. What has been said, however, should in no wise be construed as a detraction from Brunner's real importance for Anglicans, but as a qualification subject to the translation into English of his chief opponent. A foretaste of the struggle is available in a London translation of Brunner's "Nature and Grace" and Barth's denunciatory reply "Nein" published together in 1946 under the title *Natural Theology*.

The critical issue for theology today, in fact the perennial one, is its understanding of revelation. To an American liberalism which had largely subsumed the Bible under the head of the religious consciousness of man and for which revelation could only mean the deliverances of a developing intuitive sense within man or of an ethico-rational principle within him the new movement which sought to rehabilitate the word "revelation" came as a shattering surprise. Part of the liberal wing immediately attacked what it thought to be a recrudescence of fundamentalism with its characteristic expression in Protestantism in the Bible as final "Pope" in matters of religion, morals, and even science or in Roman Catholicism with its equation of revelation with the dogmatic decrees of the church, more particularly of a narrowing circle within the hierarchy.

The name "neo-orthodoxy" so widely

used to describe the new movement is a radical misnomer as far as Brunner, Tillich, and Niebuhr are concerned. There may be some justification for its use in describing Barth's later positions. What Brunner seeks chiefly to avoid and explicitly warns against in his *Divine-Human Encounter* is a return to the barren Protestant scholasticism in the generation following the Reformers. The movement might with as great justice be called "neo-liberalism" for it seeks a theological reconstruction on the basis of the Bible with full sympathy and cooperation with the historical and critical study of the documents. The movement is branded as "liberal" by the Fundamentalist VanTil in his attack upon Barth and Brunner in *The New Modernism*. It is a misfortune, although probably an inevitable one, that prejudicial labels should have obscured for many the revolutionary leaven of the new movement. Perhaps the "theology of crisis" is a least inadequate description, considering the common significance of "decision" in its many representatives.

REVELATION

Absolutely central to an understanding of Brunner is his treatment of revelation as opposed to the understanding of this term in liberalism, fundamentalism, and Thomism. Revelation is not the communication of divine truths in such a manner that God is conceived as offering a textbook in dogma in the Bible or in the Creeds of the Church. Nor, on the other hand, is revelation the upward movement of human thought in its search for God. Revelation, for Brunner, is defined by the title of his Upsala lectures *Wahrheit als Begegnung* translated into English

as *The Divine-Human Encounter*. God meets or confronts man in revelation. The Bible is not revelation in itself, but points to the Revelation of which it is the record. This record can only become revelation for a man when by the movement of the Holy Spirit within him he responds in faith to its drama of salvation of which the Bible is the faithful witness. In his Upsala lectures Brunner strongly criticizes the application of the subject-object antithesis, which is the ordinary and proper type of thinking in scientific matters, to the knowledge of God given in the Christian faith. This mode of thought has resulted, he believes, in either a barren objectivism or a fantastic subjectivism, each equally far removed from the Biblical conception of truth and faith.

Although there is an excellent discussion of the problem of special versus general revelation in the first two chapters of *The Mediator*, the locus classicus must remain his more recent volume *Revelation and Reason*.¹ The first part sets forth the Biblical understanding of revelation in terms already familiar to readers of Brunner, but with a closer attention to biblical texts and passages than formerly. As against Barth who so largely confines revelation to the knife-edge encounter with Jesus Christ, Brunner finds revelation in the natural world and in the human conscience as Paul does in Romans 1 and 2. Brunner's acceptance of a natural knowledge of God is to be distinguished, however, from the scholastic natural theology that passes in unbroken continuity from the realm of nature to that of grace. Brunner, affirming a natural knowledge

¹ See the review by the writer in the *ANGLO-CAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* for July 1947.

of God in a dialectical sense, admits its existence, asserts its importance as providing a point of contact for a doctrine of human responsibility, but maintains against the scholastics that there is no easy transition from nature to grace. The lines are broken (*gebrochen*) and general revelation remains indirect, because corrupted by human sinfulness. Brunner has no quarrel with reason as such. Indeed, the revelation must be received by reason since it passes through the human mind, uses human speech, grammar, and metaphor. It is rationalism, i.e. the misdirected claim of reason to be supreme in all matters, that must be held as the mortal enemy of faith.

"Jesus Christ is not the enemy of reason, but only of the irrational arrogance of those who pride themselves on their intellect, and of the irrational self-sufficiency of reason."²

In the second half of the book Brunner examines the problems of the world religions, historical criticism, rational apologetic, and religious language in terms of his own definitions of the actuality of revelation. He affirms that there is revelation in the religious consciousness of men as expressed in the world's faiths, but because these faiths do not know Jesus Christ the Mediator it is impossible for them on their own grounds to disentangle truth from error. Here again the dialectical principle is used. The world religions do point, although in a perverted way to God. Brunner shows that most religions mean by revelation ethico-religious teaching or mystical intuition. None of them claim that revelation is confrontation with the Person who became flesh in an historical and not merely mythological

sense. By its bold claim Christianity is a unique phenomenon and although possessing morphological similarities with the other religions is so distinct from them as to question the usefulness of "religion" as a common denominator. One wonders just how Brunner relates the revelation given in the Creation to that found in other religions.

Brunner's full and thankful acceptance of historical criticism as a method of inquiry should reassure the historical critics who fear lest the new movements in theology lead back to fundamentalism. He regards the tension between historical study and theological interpretation as an altogether necessary one.

"The possibility of coming into conflict with history as a science is a sign of the genuineness of the Christian faith, for this it is distinguished from all other ways of faith or religions as the non-mystical, or non-mythical, but historical faith."³

The section on the necessity for a Christian philosophy carries further and on a more positive note the earlier positions affirmed in his *Philosophy of Religion*. We await the more detailed articulation of these suggestions in the Gifford Lectureship which has been offered to him this year.

MAN

One of the most characteristic features of Brunner's thought is his anthropology. It seems difficult at times to know whether his definition of man is determined by his view of revelation or vice-versa. Probably it is fairer to say that since on his view there is no divine self-disclosure without human response in faith the problem is really one and the same and can only be

² *Revelation and Reason*, pp. 16-17.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

divided for purposes of analysis. Brunner regards the Aristotelian-scholastic attempt to define man in terms of the uniqueness of his rational processes as deeply misleading, for it assumes that man is a being-for-himself, a separate isolated entity. Brunner criticizes the Reformation theologians for preserving the scholastic definitions of the *Image of God* in their battles with semi-Pelagianism. For Brunner man is a being who as created by God has his *raison d'être* in the Word of God.

"Man's distinctive quality consists in the fact that God turns to him and addresses him. In this 'address' God gives man his distinctive human quality."⁴

This view is skillfully elaborated in *Man in Revolt* against rival views of man in Aristotle, Spengler, Marx, Freud, Darwin, Nietzsche, and Heidegger. Sin is defined primarily as man's unwillingness to accept this created relational tie to his Maker. Man will not remain content to find his being in the Word of God; he wants to be an entity in himself. This revolt (*Widerspruch*) sets him in opposition to God in the construction of supposedly autonomous philosophies and cultures and turns his hand against his fellowman whom he no longer regards as a fellow being created-in-and-for the Word of God. Theological rebellion precipitates personal, economic, political, and cultural chaos. Man's primal rebellion is a present fact of the human situation and is not dependent on an historical interpretation of the Genesis myth of the fall.

"The primitive state is not an historical period, but an historical moment, the moment of the divinely created origin, which we only

know in connection with its contrast, with sin."⁵

Brunner like so many modern theologians and philosophers quotes extensively from Martin Buber's *I and Thou*. The metaphysic of personalism which underlies so much of Brunner's thought needs greater study than has yet been given to it. It claims to spring directly from the Bible and does indeed possess a sense of Biblical realism and concreteness as opposed to the movement of personalism in America of which Professor Brightman represents one wing and which springs out of the idealistic movement in philosophy, but it is still a fair question to ask whether Brunner may not be subjecting the biblical material to a large amount of a priori personalistic metaphysic.

The special point of contact (*Anknüpfungspunkt*) for the gospel in reaching fallen man lies in man's *responsibility*. Brunner differs from Barth who believes that sin has so completely shattered the *imago dei* in man that all one can say is that "Man remains man and not cat." Brunner regards such phrases as "relics of the *imago*" as unfortunate terminology because quantitative in suggestion rather than relational and personalistic, but as yet pointing to the truth that man still knows God in his feeling of responsibility.

"Man is not first of all a human being and then responsible, but his human existence consists in responsibility. And man is not first of all responsible and then in addition he possesses a relation to God, but his relation to God is the same as his responsibility."⁶

⁵ *Man in Revolt*, p. 111.

⁶ *The Christian Understanding of Man*, p. 159.

⁴ *The Christian Understanding of Man*, p. 157.

CHRIST

Just as Brunner's doctrine of man is intimately associated with his concept of revelation so we should expect a similar situation with his doctrine of Christ. Jesus Christ is the actuality of revelation. He gives revelation its structure and content, for the Old Testament constitutes revelation in so far as it points forward, not always explicitly of course, to the coming of the Mediator.

In the preface to his *Mediator* Brunner modestly disclaims writing a Christology for our age. He feels that the time is not yet ripe. It may be said, however, that he does succeed in producing a substantial contribution in this direction. Nowhere is there a more searching criticism of the blurred terminology of immanent theology in its attempt to exploit orthodox phrases for its own uses. The inadequacy of such categories as "the religious hero," "the religious genius," "the more than prophet" etc. is exposed with prophetic fervor in the light of Jesus Christ as sole Mediator between the Holy and Loving God and man in his frustration and rebellion.

Brunner expounds the Incarnation chiefly in terms of the divine "Word" using the fundamental theological principles of Irenaeus. In a special appendix he takes issue with Ritschl and Harnack for their oversimplified and distorted generalization that the early fathers were chiefly interested in "soteriological naturalism." In more recent years Brunner has found it necessary to correct certain emphases which he made in the *Mediator* in the direction of a less Platonic, more biblical (or less substantive, more actualistic) approach to the mystery of Christ's

Person.⁷ The newer emphasis springs naturally, however, from his close association of Incarnation and Atonement in the earlier volume. "Jesus Christ did not come merely to come, but He came to redeem." In the light of this assertion Brunner develops a doctrine of Christ's work on the basis of a modified Anselmianism and an interpretation of the expiatory nature of the biblical concepts of sacrifice.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Brunner is not only a great theologian, he is also a stimulating expounder of Christian ethics. His basic contribution in this field is *Das Gebot und die Ordnungen*, translated into English as *The Divine Imperative*. It is built upon "justification by grace alone" as the supreme ethical principle and includes a most penetrating analysis of the problems of Law and Gospel. Legalism is the mortal enemy of the Christian ethic.

"Redemption is above all redemption from the law, and yet redemption takes place in the fulfillment of the law by Christ and works itself out in the relative fulfillment of the law on the part of man who has been born again through the Holy Spirit."⁸

The final section of the book constitutes a detailed analysis of the problems of the individual in community, marriage and family life, labor and the economic order, law and the state, the Christian and culture, and the Christian and the Church.

The more recent book *Justice and the Social Order* is an attempt to deduce from the great biblical principles of

⁷ *The Divine-Human Encounter*, pp. 142-3.

⁸ *The Christian Understanding of Man*, p. 165.

ethics some more readily applicable proximate norms. Brunner states his view that while Protestantism is more profound and true to biblical ethics in its great emphases, Catholicism is often more relevant in a given concrete situation.

"While the Catholic Church, drawing on centuries of tradition, possesses an impressive systematic theory of justice, Protestant Christianity has had none for some three hundred years past. That may sound a bold statement; it can, unfortunately, be proved. It is doubtless one of the main reasons why the Protestant church is so unsure of itself in questions of the social order, economics, law, politics and international law, and why its statements on these subjects are so haphazard and improvised that they fail to carry conviction."⁹

Many of the problems previously discussed in *The Divine Imperative* are re-examined in the light of biblical teaching about justice. Of especial interest is his criticism of the injustice of the totalitarian state and his treatment of justice and international order. The American reader is disappointed to find no treatment of the problems of race.

SUMMARY

Even such a brief summary of Brunner's works as this reveals his great catholicity of interest. There is hardly a problem in the bewildering complexity of life today which he has not treated at some time from the point of view of the Christian message. Brunner definitely believes the gospel of Jesus Christ is relevant to life and seeks to illuminate the relations between faith on the one hand and culture and civilization on the other. Many find him extremely repetitious, although once one has accepted his redundant style there may

be something to be said for the emphases that such repetition makes possible. Nearly all of his themes are mentioned in his greatest book *Revelation and Reason*. One could read that volume in isolation from the rest of the corpus and still have a fairly comprehensive grasp of his "system."

Brunner is now writing a series of short books on dogmatics which as the fruit of his thinking and teaching should prove even more important than his earlier works. The first volume on God is now available in German.

The Anglican reader finds Brunner a fairly central representative of an orthodoxy that has long been a feature of Anglican evangelicalism. The Swedes, never having passed through the ultra-liberal phase of Germany and America, profess to find him somewhat unexciting since they have known all along his type of orthodoxy. It may well be questioned, however, how just this criticism is in view of his quite fresh treatment of the problem of revelation. Undoubtedly Barth is the more exciting and stimulating of the two, but one suspects that Barth's brilliance leads him to positions, for example on natural theology, in which like Marcion he tends to divorce the God of creation from the God of redemption. Barth has had some influence on Hoskyns and other Anglicans, but it may well be doubted whether his thought is congenial to the ethos of Anglicanism. The question still remains, of course, which position is true. Brunner's view of the Incarnation and Atonement as two aspects of one and same movement of God's redeeming love stands at variance with a type of Anglo-Catholic Incarnationism largely of the last generation and there largely underwritten by a

⁹ *Justice and the Social Order*, p. 1.

neo-Hegelian metaphysic, which sacrifices the biblical emphasis upon the verb for the Greek substantive terminology. Anglican writers, influenced by the Anglo-Catholic school of sociology, often criticize Brunner for not offering a concrete program of social action. While there is some justice in this charge—and Brunner has sought to remedy the deficiency by a second volume—it remains true that Brunner would regard the somewhat confused combination of Marx with catholic moral theology that characterizes some of its representatives as the very type of objectification against which the evangelical must protest. Brunner's re-orientation of the problem of ethics is dramatized by his substituting for the concept of "virtue" in traditional catholic ethics "service" as the biblical and evangelical principle of the life in grace. Reinhold Niebuhr has criticized Brunner's social ethic as deficient in regarding Christian love as realizable only in a person-to-person relationship and as impossible of realization on levels of collectivity where justice, thinks Brunner, is the most we can expect in the economic and political ordering of life. Niebuhr would seek to permeate justice with sacrificial love on all levels of individual and collective life.

Brunner is very close to William Temple in his view of revelation and his insistence on the necessity for a Christian philosophy. Indeed, Brunner quotes

approvingly from Temple and shares the latter's point of view that revelation is given in the coincidence of divinely guided event and mind divinely illuminated to respond in faith to the event. It is interesting that two men with such different backgrounds should come to such a similar position on revelation, the one largely from Platonic categories of thought and the other from biblical personalism.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Bible Today. By C. H. Dodd. Cambridge, at the University Press. New York: Macmillan, 1947, pp. ix + 168. \$2.50.

This book represents the mature reflection of one of England's great biblical scholars to whom we are already indebted for many useful and illuminating works, e.g. *The Bible and the Greeks*, *The Authority of the Bible*, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development*, *The Meaning of Paul for Today*, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, *History and the Gospel*. It is a short book, originally delivered as open lectures at Cambridge, presenting the fruits of great learning and scholarship in clear, plain language. The scholar will find it refreshing, the preacher stimulating and an invaluable resource for biblical preaching, and the layman a key to the understanding of Scripture. The present reviewer knows of no more useful and practical book for making clear the meaning and contemporary relevance of the Bible.

Professor Dodd begins with the natural questions: what is the Bible, to what community is it related, how did we get it, how has it been used and interpreted, what is the value of biblical criticism for interpretation and devotion? He then provides a chapter each on the Old Testament and on the New. It is at this point that those who know nothing of biblical criticism, or are confused about it, will find him most helpful. For he begins with a chronology of Old Testament writings, shows that they were all produced under the influence of the prophetic movement, and accordingly works backward and forward in time from the prophets to outline the way in which the prophetic interpretation of history affected the present form of the books from Genesis on.

The Old Testament chapter ends with some reflections on its inconclusiveness judged by its own standards, which lead to the chapter on the New. Here he proceeds again in the order both of history and of the logical questions, taking up the emergence of the Church under the New Covenant and analyzing the unified Scripture it produced. His analysis will be familiar to those who know his previous books: the message of the New Testament is first the Apostolic Proclamation (the *kerygma*)

and second the New Commandment (the *didache*). The chapter closes with a section on the story of Jesus in his historical setting.

From this point he proceeds naturally to an exposition in modern terms of the biblical view of history as revelation. History is occurrence plus meaning, and the meaning is derived from an encounter with God. This is the context for the prophetic experience of God and the apostolic experience of God in Christ.

"In both Testaments, then, everything turns upon an encounter of man with God. In reference to this encounter, the biblical writers employ a characteristic formula: 'the Word of God.'—The Word of God comes, characteristically, as an interpretation of the situation, carrying with it an obligation to act. The 'inspiration' of the prophets is essentially a power of insight into the situation as expressing a meaning which is God's meaning for His people" (pp. 104 f).

The Word comes in a particular situation to a particular community or individual—hence the particularity of revelation—and because it is the Word of the Lord it refers the immediate event to First and Last Things. The analysis of the biblical view of history concludes with a statement of five first principles of a biblical world-view:

1. God is to be met with in and through the world of things and events.
2. God speaks to us, however, from beyond this world.
3. The initiative lies with God.
4. The Word of God enters history both as judgment and as power of renewal.
5. God calls for a response from man, which is obedience.

At this point Professor Dodd turns to the historical problem of our time, to discuss the challenge of the ideologies and the alternative, which is a biblical understanding of our situation. He concludes with a section on the role of the Church and passes from this to a chapter on history and the individual. He discusses the relation of the individual and the community in the early Hebrew literature, in the Psalms, and in the New Testament, and concludes with a discussion of the relation of history to the individual as mediated by the Church.

"In declaring the Gospel, the Church recalls the great Event from which its own life began and in doing so testifies out of a lengthening experience that this event really was a 'mighty act' of the living God, persisting in its consequences to this day. Like the first 'announcers' of the Gospel, it recognizes in this event the 'fulfillment' of the long-continued process by which the purpose of God worked in history. This is represented in the services of the Church by the regular reading of passages from the Old and New Testaments. These are read—as the record of the Word of God embodied in an historical process which, in the context of the life of the Church, becomes contemporary. In hymns and prayers and preaching the living voice of the Church responds, and adds its testimony to the Word. Those who hear, in the setting of the Church's corporate worship, are summoned, upon each particular occasion, to place themselves within the history which is God's revelation, at the point where it culminates in Jesus Christ, and to lay themselves open to the Word of judgment and of renewal which is spoken there to every human being" (p. 160).

HOLT GRAHAM

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The Pastoral Epistles. By Burton Scott Easton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. xiv + 237. \$3.00.

At a time when the ecumenical movement has aroused a wide-spread interest in the development of Church order and the formulation of Church tradition a scholarly, yet untechnical, exposition of the Pastoral Epistles will be doubly welcomed. Professor Easton's commentary is a rather small book, at first a deceptively simple book. It is written for the well informed layman or parson who may have no Greek, but the advanced student will read it and will profit by it. Its great merit is that it reduces to readable and intelligible statement the careful findings and fresh insights of a scholar who has made the three epistles to Timothy and Titus the special study of many years.

The introduction is brief. The Pastoral Epistles are the work of a devoted disciple and admirer of St. Paul who wrote them in the defence of the Gospel, as St. Paul had preached it, against Gnosticism. The order of the letters is 2 Timothy (c. 95), Titus (c. 100), 1 Timothy (c. 105), an order indicated by some development of the ministry which the later letters show, by problems of interdependence, and by the progressive aband-

onment of the fiction of actual Pauline authorship. In defence of the faith at the critical period of the turn of the century, care had to be taken of the instruction and ordination of the clergy, now the younger, Christian-born men whom "Timothy" and "Titus" represent. Professor Easton sees this, not as a yielding to a new spirit of ecclesiasticism, but as a necessity dictated by the conditions which faced the Church. "In 'Timothy' and 'Titus' . . . the Ignatian bishops are found in everything but the title" (p. 177).

The writer is at every point indebted to St. Paul, whose supposed counsel he is trying to give, yet there are characteristic Pauline doctrines to which he pays little heed. Thus his mention of the Holy Spirit is rare, incidental, and somewhat formal. At times he commits himself to positions which are frankly un-Pauline, as that Timothy can by the manner of his life and teaching save himself and his hearers (1 Timothy 4, 16). Professor Easton perhaps labours the point of the writer's spiritual inferiority to the great Apostle, though he recognizes in him a man of sound sense, very good ability, and undoubted moral earnestness.

In the commentary proper Dr. Easton provides his own translation. This, in its unexpected turn of phrase or rendering of a word, is often ingenious and happy. The frequently included verses of hymns are printed as such and attention is drawn to phrases which have their probable origin in the liturgical uses of the Church. A general interpretation follows each division of the text and this in turn by a series of more detailed historical and critical notes. A unique feature of the book, and one of its most valuable, is a series of word studies at the end. At the time of the relatively late Pastoral Epistles, words had passed into Christian use from Hellenic religion and philosophy, or had combined Hellenic with their older biblical meanings; other words, and particularly those used of the Christian ministry, can only be understood in the light of their use in Judaism. Few people are able to make use of Kittel's monumental *Wörterbuch* or Strack-Billerbeck's *Kommentar*, and for these this word lists supplies a lack. Such studies as are given under "Bishop," "Deacon," "Elder," or "Ruler" (by which word Dr. Easton for the want of a better translates

Episcopos) are indispensable to those who attempt to make any judgment upon the character of early Christian ministry. The treatment of other words, "Gospel," "Grace," "Righteousness," etc. forms an excellent introduction to biblical theology. "Married only once" gives the most probable interpretation of the difficult phrase, "The husband of one wife." It refers to the disqualification from clerical office of one who has remarried after divorce from a pagan spouse, though such remarriage might be allowed to the laity.

STANLEY BROWN-SERMAN

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Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By E. F. Scott. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. 125. \$2.00.

The serious student no less than the average reader of Romans is often overwhelmed by the feeling that this epistle is a too complex statement of rather abstract theological propositions, often obscure, even a bit arid and perhaps outmoded. And if he seeks a commentary to guide him he is likely to find that in the meticulous verse by verse exegesis of Paul's thoughts these difficulties frequently appear to be increased rather than noticeably lightened. For anyone who finds himself in this position Professor Scott's meaty but very readable little volume will come as a welcome surprise and valuable assistance. In a brief introductory chapter the reader is given some insight into the personal experience of Paul which gave rise to the thoughts expressed in this letter, as well as the necessary historical background for understanding the apostle's purpose in addressing his message to the Christian congregation at Rome. Then in a running exposition of the epistle itself, handled in large unified sections rather than in minute detail, the essential teachings of the letter are discussed and interpreted. By keeping the New Testament open before him as he reads, anyone not already fairly familiar with Romans will find in Professor Scott's comments illumination upon all the more obscure passages. This second chapter occupies nearly half the book. The two concluding chapters, again briefer, underscore first the central teaching of the epistle and finally its value today. In this last chapter Professor Scott shows no tendency either to modernize the message or to apply it too

closely to what may appear to be parallels between the conditions of our own time and those of the first century. Instead he has performed the more important service of attempting to sift the timeless and abiding truth from its somewhat local and contemporary expression in the vocabulary of one who however undeniably great in spiritual stature was inevitably the child of his age. And throughout the book runs a constant awareness of the thoroughly practical nature of Christianity as Paul taught and lived it. Perhaps when he has finished studying this useful book, the reader may wish to do what this reviewer did for the third time—read through another brief modern interpretation of the Christian life based on the first eight chapters of Romans, Charles E. Raven's frank and burning *Good News of God*.

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Kanonische und apokryphe Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten. By Karl Ludwig Schmidt. Basel: Heinrich Majer, 1944. Pp. 95. Swiss fr. 6.

During the war a new series of monographs was inaugurated under the leadership of Walter Eichrodt and Oscar Cullmann. Reflecting the modern interest in biblical theology, it is entitled *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. This little book, the fifth in the series, is based on lectures delivered at Basel in 1943-44. It is an analysis of "the apocryphal New Testament," to use M. R. James' phrase, as contrasted with the writings included in the canon. The first chapter deals with the sixteenth-century revival of interest in the apocrypha. The *Protevangelium Jacobi* was at first regarded as the beginning of the gospel of Mark, and considered valuable in the mission field for Jews and Moslems. It also "proved" the perpetual virginity of Mary. In the nineteenth century the gospel of the Hebrews was regarded (following Jerome) as the original form of Matthew. In this chapter Schmidt's interest centers, naturally enough, on Basel scholars who initiated much of the study of apocryphal literature. The second chapter is on criticism of the canon as textual and stylistic criticism. There are apocryphal elements even within the canon: I John 5:7 (the heavenly witnesses), Mark 16:9-20, John 7:53-8:11, Luke 6:5

(D), and others. "The canon is not a citadel but an oasis" (p. 30). Vegetation springs up around its edges. In the third chapter we find 42 pages of theological analysis of the gospel of Peter. Unfortunately no use is made of the very thorough study of L. Vaganay, *L'évangile de Pierre* (Paris, 1930). But Schmidt's research is valuable, especially for the cry, "My power, my power" (pp. 44-47; cf. F. Zimmermann in *JBL*, 66 [1947], 465 f), and for speculation about the cross (pp. 65-76). The fourth chapter is concerned with "theological themes and entertaining fables." Here one might add references to E. J. Goodspeed, *Strange New Gospels* (Chicago, 1931); M. R. Easlin, "Hagiographic Mistletoe," *JR*, 25 (1945), 10-24; and R. Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1932). The final chapter discusses the influence of apocryphal elements in later legend and theology, e.g. the doctrine of the immaculate conception.

These diverse elements are combined in a very learned study which must have made fascinating lectures. It is the fruit of much reading and meditation. But it cannot be said that the last word has been spoken on the apocryphal literature. A full analysis of its theological implications probably lies in the future. It is also possible that in it there are exceedingly few theological implications, and that its purpose was literary and recreational.

ROBERT M. GRANT

University of the South

The Holy Spirit in the Life of Today. By F. W. Dillistone. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947, pp. 126. \$1.50.

It is the desire of the author of this little book that the average man should understand the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, it is written with the further hope that the average man may, in fact, experience the power of the Holy Spirit in his own life. The larger portion of the book is concerned with the Spirit's activity. This is described in four chapters as life, power, order, and glory. The life imparted by the Spirit is not only something physical or natural, but also moral, spiritual, and social. On the Christian level, the gist of life expresses itself as love; the new life in Christ Jesus. With regard to power, the *ruach-adonai* of the Old Testament,

it is considered to be the expression in human experience of a power which creates life and releases energy. In the New Testament, this power of the Spirit becomes more distinctly a spiritual power, enabling men to resist temptation and to conquer; as, for example, Jesus' experience in the wilderness. With regard to order, the Spirit is that spiritual energy productive of harmony, discipline, and cooperation among men. The final result of the Spirit's functioning is described as "glory." The key for the understanding of this term is to be found in the fact that there has been in Jesus a "radiant self-expression" of the divine. In the face of Jesus Christ the glory of God has been revealed. The creation of this same glory in the faces of the followers of Jesus is the culminating function of the Spirit.

Having described the results of the Holy Spirit's work, the author turns to show that the Spirit works today in the same ways as in the former times. That so many people today have little awareness of the Spirit's work in their lives is due to the fact that as one phase of our life after another has been brought under the complete domination of science, men have assumed "that there is nothing in the universe which is beyond the power of the scientist to know and ultimately to control." With such a point of view the individual has no great expectation that the living God will act in his life or in his world. To know the Spirit's activity, a change of outlook is necessary, "a change from a system of thought and outlook which is bounded by the laws and possibilities of this world and a glad recognition of a personal living Spirit, who, proceeding out of that world, manifests the laws and possibilities of that world, in the very midst of this world which is so familiar to us."

While written primarily for the layman, this stimulating little book will help greatly to clarify the minds of many ministers and theological students with respect to this important phase of Christian faith and experience.

PAUL S. KRAMER

Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

The Eternal Quest. By William R. O'Connor. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947, pp. 290. \$4.00.

Father O'Connor has approached what has been always one of the difficult problems in

Thomistic interpretation. To his solution is due the clarification of difference between the words of St. Thomas himself and the texts of his commentators.

Between St. Thomas and his commentators came what our author calls "The Scotistic Interlude," during which the voluntarism of Scotus and the quasi-nominalism of William of Ockham produced so profound an effect upon even Dominican interpreters that the meaning of St. Thomas is frequently clouded.

The best known sentence of St. Thomas upon the present subject is taken from the *Contra Gentiles*, "Every intellect naturally desires a vision of the Divine Substance." A number of other pages from St. Thomas stress man's "natural desire for the vision of God."

Two groups of interpreters have tried to explain these passages. One group is called the minimizers; the other is called the maximizers. The minimizers are represented by Bañez and Cajetan; the maximizers by Soto and Sylvester of Ferrara.

The thesis of the minimizers is that "a purely natural desire for God is to be interpreted solely in terms of obediential potency" (p. 27). The maximizers, on the other hand, contend for some sort of spontaneous intuitive desire for God.

Father O'Connor has arranged these names in logical rather than in chronological sequence, thereby bringing out the contrast between them very effectively. If the names had been arranged in chronological sequence the study would have made an interesting contribution to the history of Christian doctrine. This history almost invariably follows a pattern. Some great leader or teacher makes a pronouncement or has a wonderful life. His first followers are apt to become exceedingly enthusiastic and extravagant in the qualities which they attribute to him. This attitude is apt to be followed by a period of "debunking," when the hero is stripped of as many extravagant qualities as possible. Devotion and superstition are very apt to be succeeded by cold rationalism which is likely almost to forget spiritual qualities.

This is what happened to the interpreters of St. Thomas. We are not surprised to find the extravagance of Sylvester of Ferrara nor are we surprised to find the unenthusiastic solution of Bañez.

Father O'Connor is certain that both of these are wrong. His comments upon the unconscious influence of Duns Scotus and his followers go far to explain the decadence of the late scholastic period. He calls attention to the fact that "the only natural desire for God recognized by St. Thomas is the necessary tendency in every created intellect towards the possession of the truth, a tendency that cannot be satisfied by anything less than a knowledge and vision of God" (p. 180). In other words, the desire which is natural to all applies also to the intellect. And when an intellect has learned the necessity for assuming that God is, that intellect can never be happy unless it can hope to ascertain what God is. The desire for knowledge is intuitive to an intellect which knows as easily as the eye sees. Theologically it is definitely permissible to say that this desire to know what God is is a necessary sequel to learning that God is.

The Scotistic emphasis upon the will as dominant instead of the intellect has always resulted in a misunderstanding of the Thomistic position. That some Thomists fell under the influence is not to be wondered at.

Father O'Connor has done a good piece of work. His translations of the Latin of Thomas and Scotus and of their successors deserve special mention. He has succeeded in giving an accurate translation in perfectly readable twentieth-century English.

ROYDEN KEITH YERKES

Chicago, Illinois

Christianity and Property. Ed. by Joseph F. Fletcher. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947, pp. 221. \$2.50.

Property, Its Rights and Duties, edited by Bishop Gore in 1913, has long been out of print and we have no single volume devoted in a systematic way to the question of property in Christian ethics and theology. In an era of social disintegration, it is highly important for Christians to have a fairly coherent grasp of their own peculiar vantage point in discussions about economics—and a composite effort such as this little book makes toward supplying the gap and staking out the "vantage point" should receive an enthusiastic welcome.

Six of the eight essays sketch the development of the tradition. Dean Taylor supplies the Old Testament background. Bishop Em-

rich summarizes the approach of our Lord and the Apostolic Church. Professor Hardy continues the discussion of the church feeling its way into the Patristic period, while Dr. Hastings Smyth presents the development in the Middle Ages. Dr. Paul Louis Lehmann, Associate Editor of the Westminster Press, deals with the standpoint of the Reformation, Miss Seudder with Anglican thought. The list of writers is a sufficient guarantee that none of the task has been done superficially.

Dr. Smyth and Dr. Lehmann clear the ground for the remaining essays. The former says in part,

"The Church maintained that the material communism of the monasteries was only for those who, it felt, would and could make some approach to living according to Christian counsels of perfection. Ordinary people in this world were not able to do this, and for them the Thomist-Aristotelian compromise (private ownership, managed through charity and almsgiving, as if for common social use) was drastically enforced as necessary without exception to mankind within a fallen world. All Church authorities, from the Pope himself down, made it clear that they thought any nearer approach than this to communality of goods for those who lived their lives within the secular world of every day could lead to nothing but disaster, dissension, and even insurrection of greedy members of society over against their more virtuous (and perhaps richer) brethren. And this is why the more or less communist heresies of the Middle Ages, wherever they showed themselves, were violently and cruelly repressed. *However, this question of the necessity of private ownership of property for ordinary people may well be reopened again at any time, so far as Christian teaching is concerned.*"

Why should it be reopened? Because the situation today is one which the schoolman could not have foreseen. There is individualistic control over socially employed property. We have better scientific understanding of economic relationship. Sinful man can be reconditioned psychologically and socially and made to fit a communal corporate economic life. *Men are not necessarily extreme individualists.*

Here is the way Paul Lehmann views it:

Suppose one recognized with Luther and Calvin that the problem of the goods of this world is to be completely tackled at the point of one's vocation. Suppose, further, that one combined Luther's despair of the world with Calvin's predestinate affirmation of the world,

in such a way that in despair one would hold all things as not having them, and, in confidence, one would use all things as having to dispose of them. In this way one might avoid the historical perils both of Lutheranism and of Calvinism. In order to do this, however, one would need to bring the doctrine of vocation more directly into relation with the rule of Christ. Thereby, the problem of property, as a problem of the Church, would be first and foremost a problem of redemption. The attack upon the sinful use of property would then proceed from the Kingship of Christ, not from the acknowledgment of the Creator in the order of creation. This would mean that the right of use would really determine the right of possession, and that in so far as the structure of society resisted that determination, the justified man as a member of the body of Christ would be under orders to alter it."

It is clear, then, that from the point of view of these writers the Christian tradition as it reaches us is in need of revision if it is to be applied to today's problems. One of these problems, as Charles Kean sees it, is that Capitalism is virtually a religion which ousts the worship of the one true God. Dr. Fletcher concludes with a perspective which is not only theological but also economic and sociological.

What ought to be apparent is that, up to the points in the essays from which quotations have been made, the presentation is objective. A conservative might find ground on which to take his stand. However, the case for a realignment is well argued. When we touch bottom and get to principles fundamental to the Christian tradition as a whole, this reviewer finds Joseph Fletcher's conclusion quite convincing:

"It will be said, perhaps more often than anything else, that in the Christian view man is a sinner as well as a social being, and that social ownership of the social means of production will lead to corruption and power lust in the public offices. This is no doubt true. These evils exist already in 'private' enterprise and in police (as distinct from participating) Government control. We may be sure, in a 'fallen' world, that new modes of property ownership will create new problems of justice and adjustment. Therefore, for Christians, the question is: Which kind of problems should we be trying to solve, the kind that arise because we do not practice our principles, or the kind that arise because we do?"

Seven of the writers dedicate the volume to Vida Seudder.

HOWARD HENRY HASSINGER
Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

A Garden of the Little Flower and Other Mystical Experiences. By Helen Fiske Evans. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1947, pp. xii + 138. \$2.50.

This book will be of particular interest to American readers, as it portrays the spiritual experiences of an Anglican laywoman, living in this country. Many of the incidents occurred in New York City. The foreword by Bishop Powell and the preface by Bishop Mallett steady the mind of the reader and yet foster a supernatural expectancy. Thankful for Episcopal approval and benediction, one eagerly reads this extraordinary little book.

It is written by one who openly acknowledges times of irritability, depression, and discouragement; one who is worn by weariness and constant pain; one who has lost friends, home, and money; and, hardest of all to bear, has been misjudged and misunderstood; but who has, through all, fastened her eyes upon the Crucified, the Lord of All. One might say that in these pages a Martha at grips with the odds of this world reveals to us the soul-secrets of Mary.

Gracious and most generous are the flowers and perfumes bestowed upon Mrs. Evans by St. Therese, The Little Flower, to whom she is devoted. However, it is not upon these supernatural tokens alone that the attention of the reader should be directed, but also upon the sacramental life in the Anglican Church. The Episcopal Church, so sore let and hindered by the differences and divisions within, has, says Mrs. Evans, "a mission to teach this truth—of the necessity of devotion to Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament" (p. 80). She cites instances of odors of incense—pure incense—sweet perfumes of flowers perceived by priests who carried the Blessed Sacrament to her; nurses and maids also noticed these sweet odors.

About thirty pages of this small volume are given over to testimonials and accounts of supernatural experiences which priests and laymen of the Episcopal Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and sectarians, have had in connection with her.

The author, through her intimate intercourse with Our Lord, shows His longing for the conversion of souls, His thirst for the love of hearts, and for the union of the will of His children with His own perfect Love and Will.

One wishes that some of the detailed description of Our Lord's personal appearance had been omitted, and that the conversations with Him might have been narrated in a more restrained dialogue or even Biblical language.

Some who have had scrupulous objections to certain prayers addressed to the Blessed Virgin Mary may find an adequate answer on p. 94.

One section deals with a remarkable vision in which the author has experienced "how thin the veil is" that separates this world from *That World*. She has seen Our Lord, His Blessed Mother, Angels, Saints, and Servants of God, come through the veil (p. 93).

In these accounts of visions, heavenly messages, perfume and flowers, there is rich material for ruthless criticism and plausible explanation by the skeptical; but criticism and explanations dwindle and fade before the eternal truth stated by Mrs. Evans and owned by all the faithful:

"Nothing is real or substantial in and of itself; GOD ALONE IS: and we exist only in Him" (p. 88).

SISTER MARY AGNES

Boston, Massachusetts

The Sin of our Age. By D. R. Davies. Macmillan, 1947, pp. 147. \$2.00.

This little book by the author of *Down Peacock Feathers* is another analysis of the contemporary scene and an affirmation that only Christian theology, which is by definition sociological, can provide an escape from the self-contradictory and self-defeating impasse of contemporary secularist society. The theme is not original, of course, but it is set forth in lucid, highly readable and vigorous style.

There is a progression of argument, from the first chapter, "The Meaning of Western Civilization," to the seventh and last chapter, "The Recovery of Christian Belief," which is inescapable and shattering. The author seems to echo the words of *The Hound of Heaven*, "with unhurrying chase, and unperturbed pace, deliberate speed, majestic instance, came on the unhurrying feet, and a Voice above their beat—'Naught shelters thee, who wilt not shelter Me.'" The author strikes down one by one every defense we may raise until we are forced back to the ultimate conclusion, "the abysmal issue—Christianity or Despair." The

final facing of the fact, "Within the condition of (man's) self-centredness, the historic problem is insoluble," will turn men to "faith and to Christian Faith (since history will eliminate alternatives)."

The root sin of our age is the absolutization of man and humanity. This is fundamentally the sin of every age. In fact our inescapable egocentricity is the Original Sin. But in our day, man's self-centredness is not only accepted as normal and as something which through gradual evolution will disappear, but also by a process of rationalization it has become the conscious and unconscious basis of our whole culture and civilization. Mr. Davies admits no possibility of the survival of western civilization, because of the abolition of other-worldliness (ch. IV), the Dissolution of the Spirit (ch. V), and the Degradation of the Human Person (ch. VI).

But with God all things are possible, so a miracle is happening. Pointers in that direction appear from all sides.

"The religion which our too confident secularists so gaily buried, the funeral rites of which they so obviously enjoyed to perform, is undeniably beginning to exercise some attractive power. 'Christian theology' is being aided by powerful allies, even if also they are unwilling allies! These include the psychology of the unconscious and the latest schools of historians, such as Arnold Toynbee.

"Above all, theology is being backed by the most powerful ally of all, by the process of historic development. No armament is so mighty as that of the event. It is events, more than all else, that are writing the most devastating demonstrations of the grim truth of Biblical, Apostolic and Catholic Christianity."

ALDEN DREW KELLEY

Scabury-Western Theological Seminary

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

An Introduction to Jesus for the Twentieth Century. By R. W. Stewart. New York: Macmillan, 1947, pp. 128. \$1.75.

Dr. Stewart is a Minister of the Church of Scotland, and his book bears witness to the high standards of Biblical Scholarship and literary expression which are to be found among the parochial ministers of that communion. There are no trivialities within these pages. The author has thought deeply, he has made himself well-acquainted with modern trends in philosophy and he has sought to set forth an estimate and an interpretation of Jesus which will make Him real to the intelligent inquirer of the twentieth century. The result is to be seen in an admirable piece of writing in which evidence is carefully sifted and conclusions presented in a way likely to win the approval of the historian or the scientist of our own day.

My only qualification in commending this book to the thoughtful reader arises out of the author's unfortunate tendency towards a certain over-confidence and even impatience in dismissing views with which he does not agree. For example, he has his own very definite ideas about sacrifice and can hardly imagine that any alternative is possible, even though different views are actually held by first-rate Biblical

scholars. Again, in regard to Jesus' consciousness of the intention of His ministry, Dr. Stewart is quite confident that he possesses the clue to the problem and that no other is really possible. It is a pity that this tendency to dogmatism should appear in a book which is in part designed to criticize the undue weight attached to dogmatic formulations in the history of the Church.

On the whole, however, the outline of Jesus' career within the conditions of His own day is vividly and convincingly sketched. And the last chapter, in which the attempt is made to view the actual life of Jesus in the light of modern philosophical categories, is most suggestive. It would be a real service to the Church if this final chapter could be expanded and applied in a much more detailed way.

F. W. D.

Die Biblischen Grundlagen des Christlichen Humanismus. By Jean Hering. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1946, pp. 35. Fr. 3.20.

This is a brief exegetical study of the doctrine of man in the Bible, especially in the New Testament, and takes full account of the doctrine of the "Heavenly Man" in St. Paul. The study is a kind of supplement to Dr.

Hering's volume *Le Royaume de Dieu et sa venue* (Paris, 1937).

There is an excellent appendix on the doctrine of the two men, Phil. 2:6-11, supplementing Ernst Lohmeyer's study in *Kyrios Jesus* (1928). The "form of God" really means the "image" of God, and the *harpagmón* was not something already in his possession, but was "res rapienda" rather than "res rapta." In other words, translate as follows: "He looked upon equality with God not as something to be seized" (as in the revolt of the Titans, or of Satan, or other myths). . . . Therefore, God exalted him to an even higher state than he possessed originally—as Hugo Grotius quite correctly interpreted the words (in 1732): "Ideo Deus eum multo sublimiorem fecit, quam antea erat." The "name" which was above every name was, of course, the title "Lord."

Some scholars see in this passage a reversal of the choice of Adam, who was promised that he would be "as God" if he disobeyed. But this cannot justify us in reducing the drama of Phil. 2:6-11 to the level of human existence—as if Jesus in his earthly life reversed the false choice made long before by Adam. No, what takes place in the passage in Phil. 2 is "in the heavenlies." At the same time, it must be recognized that for much of later Jewish thought, and possibly also for St. Paul, Adam was no longer simply the first man, but was a semi-divine, supernatural, cosmic figure—the living image of God, and the living pattern and prototype of the human race.

The purpose of Dr. Hering's study is to investigate the foundations of Christian humanism in the Bible. Whatever inferences are drawn from this study on the Continent, it seems to us that the New Testament scarcely permits one to think of God and man as diametrically opposed to each other.

F. C. G.

The Lord Reigneth. By Adam Burnet. New York: Scribner's, 1947, pp. 134. \$2.00.

After a brief introduction describing the nature of apocalyptic literature in general, the author expounds the message of the book of Revelation, discussing it in large blocks of related material rather than in minute detail. Although originally delivered as the Russell Lectures before conferences of ministers in

several centers, these studies contain much that would be illuminating and helpful to the ordinary layman who finds himself bewildered by that most difficult of all the books of the New Testament. Such being the character of the work, one cannot withhold criticism of the use of certain Greek and Latin phrases without translation (pp. 39, 42, 45). Probably few readers will be aware of the typographical errors in the Hebrew characters in the footnote on p. 91. However such blemishes in no way affect the usefulness of this little volume as a popular, often homiletically suggestive, interpretation of a widely misunderstood portion of scripture.

O. J. F. S.

The Challenge of New Testament Ethics. By L. H. Marshall. New York: Macmillan, 1947, pp. xi + 363. \$4.50.

The title is broader than the content of this useful liberal Protestant introduction to the moral teachings of Jesus and Paul by a Canadian scholar. He brings out clearly the dependence of their ethics on their faith, and the consequent intensity of their "moral imperatives." If there is a better introduction to the subject in English, the reviewer does not know it. The educated layman rather than the theological expert is perhaps the author's intended reader, but the volume is well suited for a college or seminary course in Christian ethics.

N. B. N.

Attention of readers of this REVIEW should be drawn to a new journal published in Amsterdam, which is just entering its second year. It is called *Vigiliae Christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language*, and is available through G. E. Stechert in New York or The Faxon Company in Boston for five dollars a year. It will prove invaluable for students of early Christian theology and the early history of exegesis. The current number contains two excellent articles, one on "La typologie millénariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif" (J. Daniélou) and the other on "La lettre de Ptolémée à Flora" (G. Quispel).

R. M. G.

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